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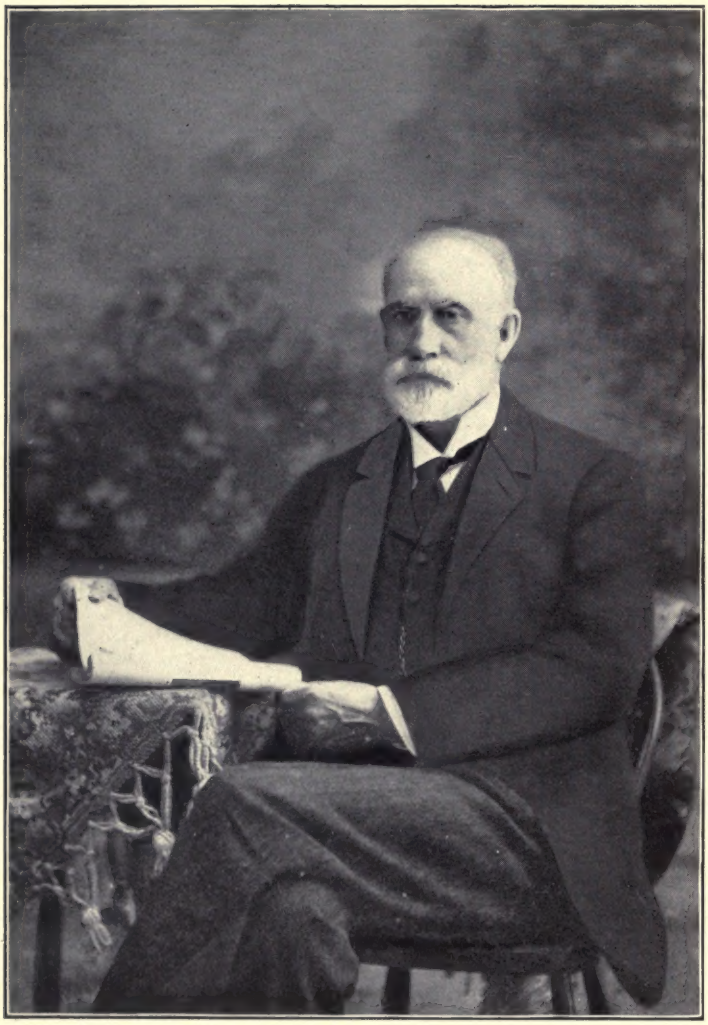

Yours Sincerely

A. P. Cockburn.

POLITICAL ANNALS OF CANADA

A Condensed Record of Governments from the time of Samuel de Champlain in 1608 down to the time of Earl Grey in 1905

With Appendices containing a copy of the British North America Act, establishing the Dominion in 1867; also a list of the First Members of the Dominion and Provincial Parliaments under Confederation, and a table of Important Canadian Historical Events

BY

A. P. COCKBURN

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Dedicated

TO THE

Canadian People

OF EVERY

ORIGIN AND RELIGION AND

POLITICAL CREED

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PREFACE.

THE modest qualifications which the author claims for undertaking a task of the magnitude which the title of this volume assumes are based chiefly upon his own personal experience in the political arena, and on having carefully studied all the published Canadian and British-American histories, of which there are not a few.

His recollections of political events date from reading and hearing, at the age of twelve years, of the burning of the Parliament Buildings, and the mobbing of Lord Elgin, in Montreal, in 1849. He is prompted by a sincere desire to provide a reliable and impartial book of reference, embracing a period from the year 1608 down to the present time, with the hope that the book, despite imperfections incidental to a work of this kind, will prove a useful and interesting contribution to the political literature of our country, and at the same time aid in the commendable promotion of dignity and amenity in politics. The proper and impartial study of politics is a duty incumbent on the patriotic citizens of all countries, who should also at the same time remember the sound proverb, that "righteousness exalteth a nation."

The following pages of this work will, at least, give an outline of the various phases, systems, and vicissitudes of government through which our country and its chief actors have passed, and which have eventually culminated in our present admirable

political constitution—the happy creation of the leaders of both political parties—under whose ægis civil and religious liberty and opportunities are free to all.

Our country is blessed and endowed with surpassingly great heritages, not only in the matter of vast territorial and other advantages, but also in respect of free and enlightened institutions in every department of life. If Canadians, therefore, are true to themselves—of which there exists no doubt—Canada will take a very high place not only within the grand Empire of which she is proud to form a part, but also among the advanced nations of the earth.

The author wishes to gratefully acknowledge the kind courtesies extended to him during the preparation of this work by Mr. James Bain, D.C.L., Chief Librarian of the Public Library, Toronto; to Mr. A. Pardoe, Librarian of the Ontario Parliament; and to Mr. M. J. Griffin, Librarian of the Dominion Parliament.

Readers who may desire fuller information concerning personages and public questions than is supplied by this work, can be aided in their researches by reference to Morgan's "Biography of Celebrated Canadians" (1862), and his subsequent works; to Mr. Bibaud's "Pantheon Canadien," and his other works; to the "Parliamentary Companion," the "Canadian Biographical Dictionary and Portraits of Eminent and Self-Made Men" (1880), and "The Newspaper Reference Book of Canada" (1903). The debates in the Dominion Parliament will be found in *Hansard*, the publication of which has been continuous since and including the session of 1875. The debates of the Senate are also published in annual volumes.

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POLITICAL ANNALS OF CANADA

CHAPTER I.

NEW FRANCE.

Early Governmental System of Canada.

DURING the greater portion of the seventeenth century the French governments were wont to delegate all the affairs of the Canadian colony to trading companies, with a monopoly of trade, on condition of transporting colonists from France to Canada and of providing for the conversion of the natives to Christianity. This policy, as might have been expected, was unsuccessful as a colonization scheme.

The title of Lieutenant-General of North American territory, between latitudes 40 and 46 north, was conferred upon the chief official of the trading company. It was as an attache of a trading company that the justly renowned Samuel de Champlain made his first voyage up the noble St. Lawrence River in 1603, and he at once evinced a greater interest in the future of the colony than had been manifested by his chiefs.

It was on the 3rd of July, 1608, that Champlain selected the site of and founded the now grand old historic City of Quebec. Four years later, his chief

having retired, the Prince of Conde was created viceroy of New France and appointed Champlain as his lieutenant; the latter was now virtually recognized as the first resident governor of Canada, as he was also certainly its earliest friend.

The Prince of Conde having retired in favor of the Duke of Montmorency, in 1620, the latter confirmed Champlain in his post as lieutenant-general. The king also, at the same time, favored him with royal letters expressing approval of his appointment as "Governeur et Lieutenant Général en Canada, Acadie, Isle de Terre Neuve et autres pays de la France Septentrionale."

The instructions to Champlain and succeeding governors, until the establishment of royal government in 1663, clothed them with absolute power, subject only, of course, to the pleasure of the home government. The Canadian governors were at liberty to avail themselves of the advice of prudent and capable persons in the colony, but they do not seem ever to have organized a council of any kind, presumably owing to the fewness of inhabitants to be governed. Being now regularly commissioned by the direct mandate of the King of France, Champlain entered enthusiastically upon the duty of improving the defences, exploring and settling the country, and also of aiding in the conversion of the natives. Meanwhile the Récollet Fathers had, five years previously, sent out the pioneer missionaries of Canada, despite the preferences of the then premier of France, Cardinal Richelieu, in favor of sending out Jesuit missionaries instead. Champlain, whatever may have been his private theological predilections, resolved, as a matter

of wise policy, to submit but one form of religious communion to the natives, which meant, of course, the state religion of France. Ten years later the Récollet Fathers were followed by a contingent of missionaries from the mysterious and devoted Society of Jesuits. Twenty-two years later the highly distinguished ecclesiastic, M. Laval, assumed charge of the religious affairs of the colony, under the title of Vicar Apostolic, with the episcopal rank of Bishop of Petrea, and was subsequently installed as Bishop of Quebec in 1674.

Champlain continued to govern wisely and heroically amid the most trying and difficult circumstances during an incumbency of fifteen years, less the barren three years' occupancy of Quebec by the English, until its restoration to France under the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1632, when Champlain resumed the governorship until his lamented death, three years later, in October of 1635.

Champlain's early alliance with the Huron tribe of Indians against the more powerful nations of Iroquois was fraught with the most disastrous consequences to the early settlers of Canada, including some of the clergy. He was, no doubt, actuated largely by the exigencies and circumstances of the time in joining with the Hurons.

Taking Champlain as an all-round pioneer governor, he ranks easily as one of the most able, just, generous, and patriotic of the early governors of Canada. He was a thorough Canadian by adoption, whose name will be revered by all Canadians, regardless of race or creed, and it is a source of sincere gratification that a monument has recently been erected to his memory in the city which was founded by himself.

Upon the death of Champlain, H. Chateaufort presided as provisional governor for some months pending the arrival of the Governor-General, M. de Montmagny, in May, 1636. The new governor at once became popular by his ready, patronizing, prudent, and sagacious manner. He strove, in conjunction with the Trading Company, to carry out the policy of his predecessor, Champlain.

He also gave his support to the clergy in their mission to convert the Indians, and in the successful endeavors to exclude the Huguenots, but was unsuccessful in his attempts to suppress the incursions of the Iroquois, solely through lack of support from the Mother Country.

It was during de Montmagny's regime that Montreal was ceremoniously founded under the auspices of the celebrated Maisonneuve, in May of 1642, who also became its first local governor, and to whose memory a monument has been lately erected in the great commercial city of his founding. Maisonneuve would appear to be somewhat of an aggressive character, seeing he gave offence not only to the amiable governor-general of that day, but also to a succeeding governor. It must be said, however, that he was an energetic, brave, and gallant defender of the great Island of Montreal, and all its interests, where a man of his stamp was much needed.

M. de Montmagny presided over the colony as Governor-General for the very considerable period of twelve years, and was then succeeded by M. D'Ailleboust as governor, in 1648, whose term lasted but three years. He was an excellent military officer and a very

kind gentleman. He, however, experienced the same difficulty as his predecessor with the Iroquois, and was no better supported by the home government than they were for the suppressing of the persistent foe.

A feeling of sectional rivalry was already springing up between the embryo cities of Montreal and Quebec. Maisonneuve, who was naturally the enthusiastic champion of Montreal, did not hesitate to provoke the jealousy or resentment of the officials at Quebec, the capital.

The French governors appear to have made commendable overtures to the English governors of New England for a better understanding, particularly as to the dealings with Indians, and sent ambassadors to promote a treaty for the mutual advantage of each colony. The ambassadors were well received, but unfortunately no definite action was taken. The Indians therefore, were left with a free hand to carry on desultory attacks *pro* and *con* upon the settlers of the two colonies, in which, however, New France suffered the most severely by these incursions. At this time (1651) M. de Lauzon, an influential member of the Trading Company of One Hundred Associates, was anxious to try his hand in the gubernatorial chair and was accorded the opportunity; but he apparently made matters worse instead of better by obvious blundering in his Indian policy and in other affairs. He was also reputed to be indolent, undignified, and partial in his administration as regards localities. Realizing his unpopularity he voluntarily left the governorship in the hands of his son until the return of M. D'Ailleboust, 1657. The latter remained in office

about one year, pending the arrival of Governor D'Argenson, who was appointed in 1657, but did not arrive until 1658. The new governor was a man of about thirty-two years of age, courageous and of good parts. He was, however, unduly harassed in his regime, chiefly by the chronic aggressions of the Indians, which he could not repel or repress for want of succor from the home government. It was said that the King Louis XIV., the so-called "Grand Monarque," was at this particular time so occupied with fêtes that he had little leisure to concern himself about an obscure colony. The liquor traffic and questions of official precedence were also frequent sources of trouble, causing much friction in the working of government.

M. Laval, the great ecclesiastic, was a resident of the country in 1659, and his influence somewhat overshadowed that of the governor. These several causes told severely upon the governor's health, and constrained him to apply for a release from the governorship. He was succeeded by Baron D'Avaugour, a brave old soldier, whose term only lasted two years, partly owing to the new governmental system designated the Royal Government, which went into effect in 1663. The duration of the baron's regime, though short, was somewhat eventful, as by the exercise of much personal energy in making tours of the different posts, he was able to report authoritatively upon the state of the colony. While he was greatly impressed with the natural resources of the country, and especially of the value of the magnificent St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes for opening up and developing the country, he, on the other hand, was

quite pessimistic as to the condition of the colony, which he found to be in a critical condition, owing largely to the suffering of the inhabitants from the cruel incursions of the Iroquois, who had regularly decimated the heads of families by massacres from the early beginning of the settlements.

Governor D'Avaugour, though a man of personal courage and energy, was destitute of a force at command of men and means to strike a decisive blow at the savage foe. Under these galling conditions he so lost control of his temper that he could not deal judiciously with the civil business of the colony. His conduct in the liquor traffic with the Indians appeared to be both inconsistent and hysterical, which was attended with deplorable results, of which one of the clergy, in deep anguish of soul, wrote thus, in 1661, concerning the effect of liquor upon the Indians: "Every bad trait of their character was intensified. The effect of it brought them to nakedness, and their families to beggary; they went so far as to sell their children to procure liquor. I cannot describe the evils caused to the infant church. My ink is not black enough to paint them in proper colors; it would require the blood of a dragon to express the bitterness experienced. We lose in one month the toil and labors of thirty years."

Knowing, as we do, the evils of the traffic, even in a milder form, upon the white race at the present day, one can readily realize the distress felt by the reverend father in the Canada of the seventeenth century. The clergy had for years striven against the sale of liquor to Indians and endeavored to hold the respective governors responsible for the grievous curse.

Governor D'Avaugour did enact a prohibitory liquor law as regards the sale to Indians, but could not effectually enforce the law, even though he had three offenders shot for the violation of the liquor law. The governor at the same time reproached the Jesuit missionaries with inconsistency, in having pleaded for mercy on behalf of some convicted parties, whereupon he capriciously threw open the traffic again. It was quite natural and pardonable that a clergyman might intercede, even for the life of a being guilty of so grave an offence. The humane feelings of a clergyman surely did not furnish a sufficient pretext for the repeal of the liquor law upon the part of the governor.

The colony had made but little progress since the days of Champlain. The entire population of French origin at this time (1663) was but three thousand souls.

A short-sighted and negligent colonization policy, the ravages of the Iroquois, and the afflictions of scourges and plagues at intervals will account for the contemptible showing in the way of the material development of the country. Complaints have even been made that the governors and officials participated pecuniarily in trade to augment the slender salaries paid them by the home government of France. Of the so-called "fur governors," D'Avaugour was the last.

As regards the hapless inhabitants themselves, all historians unite in bearing testimony to their fine qualities of physique, to their honesty and energy. Ship-owners and captains of vessels would pay twenty-five per cent. higher wages to Canadians than to the laborers of Old France. However, on the other

hand, a portion of the young men unfortunately became associated with the Indians as traders and trappers, to the entire neglect of industrial and other civilized pursuits; this class of people were designated "*coureurs de bois.*" Subsequent action, with good results, was taken by the government to prohibit the prolonged absence of men in the unsettled portions of the country, with a view to check the uncivilized tendencies of certain young French-Canadians, who were so averse to the pursuit of agriculture. It may not be out of place to remark here, by way of contrast, that the colonization of the vast American territory lying between the French and Spanish possessions in North America, then known as Virginia, was begun by the British in about the same period as the colonization upon the St. Lawrence was commenced by the French; with this difference, however, in the form of government: that an educational system and representative institutions were conferred upon the few inhabitants of the British colony as early as 1619, only a few years subsequent to its settlement. The first elected assembly in North America met in a little wooden church at Jamestown, Virginia, that year. The original Virginia frontier has since been subdivided into ten Atlantic States. The early representative institutions had a tendency to promote intelligent, progressive, and self-reliant communities, the benefit of which was subsequently lost to the British Mother Country through the unjust, narrow, and obstinate attitude of an administration whose policy was moulded largely by the honest, but stubborn, old Tory King George III., whose intellect besides was clouded by an intermittent mental disorder.

Royal Government.

The King Louis XIV., being at length thoroughly convinced that a radical change in the governmental system and polity, which had subsisted in conjunction with the trading companies, must now take place in order to ameliorate the condition of the colony, M. Colbert, one of the most enlightened statesmen of his time, being now the first Minister of France, it was therefore wisely resolved by the home government to dispense with the aid of trading companies as a factor in the colonization of New France.

Consequently, in 1663, the before-mentioned change of system, known as Royal Government, was now instituted, and the government was placed under the control of a "Supreme Council," like the Parliament of Paris, responsible to the king and appointed by him. The Supreme Council subsequently designated the Superior Council, to be comprised of the governor, the bishop, the royal intendant, five councillors, an attorney-general and a chief clerk.

The governor, representing the king, was to have absolute control of the military force, and to have special charge of the external relations of the colony.

The bishop, as head of the Church, was to govern in all matters spiritual and ecclesiastical.

The royal intendant to be charged with the regulations and conduct of affairs appertaining to finance, police and justice, and to be a quasi-spy upon the governor, and also to keep an eye upon the bishop as well, and report to the home government. The last-named duties must certainly have been an undesirable and undignified function for him to perform.

The five councillors to be chosen annually, or to be continued in office, as might be deemed expedient by the governor and bishop. The duties of the councillors was to see that the ordinances of the Superior Court were duly executed and to act as judges in petty cases which, by the way, was not a sinecure, as the inhabitants were said to be somewhat litigiously inclined.

The Superior Council was finally increased to twelve members with enlarged powers, which embraced practically everything, to be the highest legal tribunal and court of appeal and to dispose of the revenues of the country, etc.

The lands were held in feudal tenure, making the king the owner, who in turn made grants to seigneurs. The actual settlers, not being freeholders, paid a small consideration annually to the seigneurs.

M. Colbert favored a further advance by giving the people a certain control of local affairs, somewhat approaching a municipal system, but the king insisted in having everything on a monarchical basis, and the retention of all power in his own hands.

Under the new order of affairs a forward movement in the material development and improvement in the condition of the colony was confidently anticipated.

The first council was comprised of the new governor, Saffray de Mézy; Bishop Laval, Royal Intendant Robert (who, however, did not come to Canada, M. Talon coming later in his stead); the five councillors, Louis Rouer Sieur de Villeray, Jean Juchereau Sieur de Ferte, Denis Joseph Ruette, Dauteuil Sieur de Monceaux, and Charles de Garder Matthew Damours; attorney-general, M. Bourdon; secretary, Peuvret de Mesna.

This system of government prevailed for upwards of ninety years, until the conquest of Canada by Great Britain. The proceedings of the Superior Council appeared to be conducted in methodical order, and its deliberations carefully recorded. The minutes of council fill a volume of more than one thousand pages, a copy of which can be seen in the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa.

Governor de Mézy, though not lacking in abilities of a certain kind was not successful, he having treated the friendly advances of the Iroquois with indifference, the impolicy of which soon became apparent by the renewal of hostilities on the part of these old adversaries, resulting in more scalping of the white inhabitants and in the martyrdom of missionaries. He also erred in not taking the bishop more into his confidence than he was wont to do, which was a grievous disappointment to the latter, and all the more galling as the governor really owed his position to the influence of the bishop.

The bishop therefore formulated a complaint against the administration of the governor; no investigation, however, took place, as de Mézy died shortly after being impeached.

M. Laval, the bishop referred to in the foregoing reference to de Mézy, was a man of brilliant parts, and of an indomitable will. His name is indelibly and favorably associated with the early history of Canada, and a great university of learning bears his honored name.

M. Talon, the royal intendant, was also an exceptionally estimable, amiable, and distinguished official, who has not been inaptly designated the Colbert of Canada.

During the Mézy regime the Superior Council had made various local appointments, and took steps for the establishing of inferior courts. Maisonneuve was reappointed governor of the Island of Montreal, and Boucher as commandant at Three Rivers; de Mézy had, however, subsequently compelled Maisonneuve, the respected governor of Montreal, as well as two of his deposed councillors at Quebec, to quit the colony.

The Marquis de Tracy, recently appointed over the colonial possessions of France in America, was ordered to proceed to Canada in 1665, and examine into the disturbed conditions of the colony. A new local governor, M. de Courcelle, had been appointed to supersede de Mezy. Some regular troops arrived in advance of the viceroy, who with those which he subsequently brought out, comprised the famous Carignan regiment, thirteen hundred strong, and commanded chiefly by officers belonging to the nobility of France, many of whom remained permanently in Canada. The arrival of these soldiers greatly cheered the inhabitants for the time being, and also proved to be a valuable and lasting acquisition to the population of Canada.

The viceroy and governor, after having made their début in the most magnificent state and pageantry possible under existing circumstances, lost no time in severely punishing the Iroquois, driving them to the most distant part of their cantonment. The colony now entered upon a career of prosperity hitherto unknown. The king became most enthusiastic in his policy of development and expansion; settlers were encouraged to emigrate, and liberally assisted to make a start in their new homes. As there was scarcity

of the gentler sex in the colony, good wives were sent out for all the single men from eighteen years of age and upwards, and all bachelors were enjoined under penalty to become benedicts without delay; bounties were given for large families, and the younger the parentage the larger the bounty. Under these conditions the population speedily doubled and trebled, agriculture flourished, home-made cloth and other domestic articles were produced, and an export trade begun. These bright prospects were, however, marred by the inconceivable folly of the home government in again admitting the participation of a trading company into the affairs of the colony. A new trading corporation, styled the West Indian Company, was chartered with extraordinary privileges. The local representative of the company was to have a seat in the council, with rank next the royal intendant. The inhabitants, except at Tadousac, were not excluded as formerly from trading with the Indians, but were to pay a duty of one-fourth its value upon the purchase or capture of every beaver, and one-tenth upon some other animals, for the company's benefit. Fortunately, the company's charter was revoked after a seven years' trial.

The farmers or inhabitants did not, as before stated, possess freehold titles to lands. The proprietors of the lands were seigneurs, who allowed the habitants the use of the lands for a very small share of the farm products. The seigneurs, upon their part, provided grist mills and other improvements, and were not, as a class, inclined to be oppressive; but the system was poorly adapted for the promotion of an industrious, self-reliant, and progressive community, and proved

to be a bone of contention for many long years, until the system was finally terminated, after much agitation, by the parliament of Old Canada in 1854.

Salutary laws were enacted by the Superior Council for the suppression of the liquor traffic with Indians, making it a penal offence.

Meanwhile, the gallant de Tracy returned to France, after having fulfilled his mission of punishing the Iroquois most thoroughly, annexing the vast territory westward as far as the Mississippi River and southward to the junction of the Alleghany and Ohio Rivers. He had the same confirmed by treaty with the interested Indian tribes at Sault Ste. Marie, and placed the colony on a satisfactory footing.

The very energetic and rather outspoken Courcelle was left in charge of New France as governor, and was, on the whole, much esteemed by the inhabitants, as was also Royal Intendant Talon, whom we met before, and whose good reputation for ability, integrity, and enterprise had not abated, but rather increased. It would have been well for New France if all the succeeding intendants had emulated Talon's noble example.

The health of Governor Courcelle having suffered from fatigue and the hardships incidental to expeditions for strengthening the defences of the country; he therefore determined to resign. The royal intendant, M. Talon, also resigned about the same time. Both were relieved of their arduous duties about five months afterwards, and embarked together for France, their departure being greatly regretted by the colonists.

M. de Frontenac, one of the most determined and

remarkable men of his time, was appointed by the home government in 1672, together with M. Duchesneau, as royal intendant. Bishop Laval, who had already out-reigned four governors, still occupied the second place in the administration. Governor Frontenac was somewhat prone to resent the bishop's participation in secular affairs, and also ignored the royal intendant to some extent. He was also suspected of leaning towards the Récollet Fathers as against the Jesuits. This condition of affairs brought about dissensions, which endured during his term of office. Apart from this, Frontenac manifested a commendable desire to pursue the wise policy of Courcelle and Talon in the exploration and material development of the great domain over which he presided. He was the most successful of all the governors in his methods of dealing with the Indians. On account of his firmness and justice he was held in friendly respect both by the friendly tribes of Canada and the hostile bands of Iroquois. In his councils with the natives he adopted their peculiar style of oratory; and on the occasion of a great tribal gathering at Montreal he is said to have even joined with the Indians in a war dance.

Meanwhile the dissensions between the three principal heads of the council were increasing rather than abating. The governor, instead of conciliating the bishop, perpetrated the unpardonable freak of having the bishop's religious ceremonies burlesqued in an amateur comedy performed by his retainers. In consequence of this unseemly contempt of the bishop's sacred function, together with other divergences, caused the recall of both governor and intendant.

During these times that class of vigorous young men already designated *coureurs de bois* acquired in a great degree the shiftless habit of penetrating the haunts of remote Indian tribes for the purposes of traffic, and absenting themselves for very long periods. The number of these wanderers had increased to five per cent. of the entire population, thereby seriously affecting both the industrial progress and the defences of the colony. The clergy also complained that the association of these white men with red men debased the former race instead of elevating the latter. The Superior Council resolved, therefore, to put an end to this very unsatisfactory habit by passing a law prohibiting the absence of a Frenchman in the woods longer than twenty-four hours without the express permission of the governor. Such a law, as might be expected, was evaded by this roving class of individuals, and the evils continued for some considerable time.

Frontenac was succeeded by M. de la Barre as governor, and M. Duchesneau, the royal intendant, by M. de Meuble. M. de la Barre was a man of good reputation; his term of office, however, was neither lengthy nor pleasant. The Iroquois became emboldened after the retirement of Frontenac, instigated, it is said, by the impious English governor (Dongan, a nephew of Lord Tyrconnel) of the then Province of New York. The Canadian governor resorted to some novel expedients in his dealings with the Indians. He first tried conciliation and diplomacy, next made preparation for war and invaded their territory, and finally concluded an inglorious peace with them. His policy and actions were disapproved of both by the

king and the military officers, who had hoped that the Iroquois would have been thoroughly chastised. The governor was consequently superseded, and M. de Denonville was appointed in his stead, with M. de Meules as royal intendant. The distinguished ecclesiatic Bishop Laval now resigned both his bishopric and his seat in the Superior Council, after thirty years of active life. He continued to reside in Quebec, now a city, until his death, at the advanced age of eighty-six years. He was reputed to be a haughty, eccentric, and self-willed personage, but withal a very kind-hearted and forgiving man; his ability and many good parts have already been noticed. M. de St. Vallier succeeded M. Laval as bishop and member of the Superior Council.

Governor de Denonville (1685) was instructed to see that the Canadian Indians abandoned their savage life and adopted French habits. He was to support the French allies in the West and to carry war into the territory of the Iroquois, humiliate them, and endeavor to secure the alliance of Illinois and Ottawas. As to the first part of his instructions he found it impossible to convert the Huron and Algonquin Canadian Indians to civilization. He reported that the savages did not become French, but the French who associated with the Indians became savages, and as to the second part of his instructions he found great difficulty in either suppressing or pacifying the Iroquois, owing to the encouragement given to that ferocious tribe by the English governor to the south of New France, and also to the duplicity and treachery of a Huron chief who attacked and slaughtered the Iroquois in a time of supposed peace, falsely

representing at the same time that the French had induced him to commit the cruel and impolitic act. The Iroquois, in a spirit of revenge, organized a force of fourteen hundred warriors for a stealthy invasion of the Island of Montreal, which they attacked by night, and massacred several hundred of the white inhabitants, surpassing themselves in atrocity on this horrible occasion.

It has been stated that Governor de Denonville went about almost constantly with the Psalms of David in his hands, and appealed upon religious grounds to the worldly Governor Dongan. This not having the desired effect he reproached the latter with the crime of supplying rum to the Indians. Dongan rejoined that rum was more wholesome for the Indians than the brandy with which de Denonville himself supplied to the Indians.

As a remedy for these interminable Iroquois raids M. de Callieres, the commandant at Montreal, formulated a project of making a conquest of the English provinces to the south, and of utilizing the fine harbor of New York as a Canadian winter port. Commandant Callieres volunteered to undertake the enterprise with a specified force. The court of France approved the project, but failed to send the necessary aid. The troubles of the hapless colonists were further increased by a series of epidemics, which carried off as many as fourteen hundred persons in one year; added to this the refusal or inability of the home government to assist with troops in the protection of the country occasioned the most gloomy forebodings. It must be said, however, as a measure of justice to the home government that there is no record of a request

for money having ever been refused, and the applications for cash advances were certainly quite frequent.

The gallant but unsuccessful governor was recalled to his native land, and the doughty old veteran Count Frontenac was sent out again, in 1687, for another term, to the great joy of the Canadian people. Bishop St. Valliere and Royal Intendant Beauharnois were his chief colleagues in the Superior Council. No time was lost by the valiant old governor in taking steps to relieve the greatly perturbed colonists of all apprehensions for their personal safety. Hostile Indians were speedily made to feel that there were to be no half measures with Frontenac. In addition to the arduous undertaking of successfully suppressing the Indians he was confronted by the appearance of a considerable hostile English fleet, with the usual military accompaniments, having for its object the conquest of Quebec. A demand for its surrender was formally made, and a written reply requested. The old governor's response will be anticipated: "The answer will be sent from the cannon's mouth," was the brave old man's reply. The city was then bombarded by the ships, and some skirmishing took place upon land. The attacking party were, however, discomfited, and retired down the river. During these unhappy times the governors of both New France and New England inhumanly utilized the Indians for the mutual injury of the respective colonies. At one time overtures for a better understanding between the French and English colonies in North America were exchanged, but never consummated. The negotiations only resulted in a controversy, of which Frontenac did not see the end, he having died in November, 1698, after a few

days' illness, in his seventy-eighth year, retaining his faculties until the last moment. Notwithstanding some eccentricities Frontenac is regarded as the greatest of the governors who ruled Canada from the time of Champlain until the time it ceased to be a French colony.

M. de Callieres, commandant at Montreal, succeeded Count Frontenac as governor. The new governor's term lasted five years, until his death in 1703. His chief colleagues in the Superior Council were Bishop St. Valliere and Royal Intendant Rodot. De Callieres was a man of wide experience in both civil and military affairs, he having already rendered valuable public service to the colony in several capacities. On assuming the responsibility of the general government he adhered to Frontenac's policy. The usual and interminable round of Indian treaties and attempted pacifications between the various tribes occupied the governor's attention almost constantly.

The opening year of the eighteenth century was a gloomy one, owing to the general scarcity of food. The inhabitants were obliged to subsist partially on wild roots, many suffering the pangs of starvation. While the colony did not actually decrease in population, its general progress had become very slow since the halcyon days of Talon and de Tracy. The religious orders and ecclesiastics appeared to be the only community in comfortable circumstances, which constrained the governor to procure an edict from the Crown to limit the acquisition of property by the hierarchy. The governor's reputation was that of a prudent, honorable, and courageous man.

M. de Vaudreuil, who had succeeded de Callieres as

commandant at Montreal, now succeeded the same gentleman as governor, and presided in that capacity for the long term of twenty-two years, until his death in 1725. His chief colleagues in the council were Bishop St. Vallieres and Intendant Begon. The post-office system was regularly established during his regime.

He proved to be a useful and popular governor, and made the most of the trying position in which he was placed. The chronic intrigues of the respective Indian allies of New England and New France still worried the governor and people. The narrow and oppressive commercial policy of the home government hampered the inhabitants; every advantage being conferred upon the industries of the Mother Country as against those of the colony. All business intercourse on the part of the inhabitants with other countries was prohibited; any surplus of beaver skins or other articles of export, beyond the fixed quantity required by the Mother Country, was to be destroyed. The prices of all commodities to be bought or sold by the inhabitants was fixed by the royal intendant. It was little wonder, then, that the country made such slow progress under such a blighting policy, or that some of its inhabitants became idle and dissipated. Despite all these serious disadvantages the City of Quebec now alone contained about seven thousand inhabitants, comprising for the most part a fine class of worthy and agreeable citizens. Montreal then contained about three thousand inhabitants, who were also mainly a good class of citizens.

The population of the colony had reached twenty-five thousand souls. Roads were constructed, parishes laid out, matters of police and finance were improved,

and the old wooden fortifications at Quebec and Montreal were replaced by stone structures. The monetary arrangements of the colony were, however, very defective, no coin being in circulation, the only currency in the country approaching money were little billets or cartes, resembling the shin plasters of more modern times.

The colony was now, however, upon the eve of enjoying the longest period of peace it had ever known from 1713 to 1744. Upon the death of de Vaudreuil, M. de Beauharnois, a brother of the past royal intendant of that name, succeeded as governor, with Bishop de Morny and Royal Intendant Chazel and Dupuy.

The new governor pursued the vigilant policy of his predecessors in observing the movements of the British and Iroquois to the south, and also of the trend of the internal affairs of the colony. Considerable progress had been made during the long interval of peace. The population had now reached fifty thousand inhabitants; nearly all the departments and institutions incidental to an important community were now established and satisfactorily administered by the respective functionaries. Discoveries were carried on. De la Verendrye had discovered the great North-West and Rocky Mountains. The encroachment of the British American colonists northward to Lake Ontario, and westward to the Alleghanies, was duly protested against. And in this connection it is a serious loss to Canada that the original French boundaries were not maintained by the British in the subsequent treaty of peace, signed with the United States at Paris in 1783; but it was ever thus in the dealings between the off-handed and unsuspecting British, and

the shrewd, bargaining American diplomats. De Beauharnois proved to be a faithful, accomplished and locally popular governor, but did not stand in high favor with the home government—it is alleged for not having prevented the falling of Louisbourg into the hands of the British. In consequence of this he was recalled to France.

M. de la Jonquiere was appointed to succeed de Beauharnois as governor. He left France for Quebec with thirty-six ships laden with troops and supplies. He had the design of retaking Louisbourg on his way out, but was himself taken prisoner at sea by the British.

M. de Galissonniere assumed the governorship pending the release of de Jonquiere. Galissonniere had for his chief colleagues, Bishop Desquot and Royal Intendant Hocquart. He lost no time in becoming acquainted with the affairs and resources of the colony, and suggested plans based upon his observations for the strengthening of French power in North America. One of his proposals was to establish ten thousand French peasants south of Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, at the same time urging the Court to provide him with means to prevent the British intrusions from the south. But the French Government turned a deaf ear to his importunities for aid to promote French interests throughout the territories claimed as part of New France. He suggested the establishment of printing presses in Canada, which was also unheeded. The home government, however, signified their confidence in Galissonniere by naming him one of the four commissioners for settling the boundaries.

M. de Jonquiere, in the meantime having been set free by the British, assumed the governorship of Canada for the succeeding three years, with Bishop La Riviere and M. Bigot, the last and worst of all the royal intendants, as his chief colleagues. While de Jonquiere gave considerable attention to the security of numerous posts, he was nevertheless reproached by the home government for not carrying out Galissonniere's plans with sufficient energy.

The spirit of mutual territorial encroachment on the part of the French and British prevailed continuously.

The French claimed by right of discovery and by treaty with Indians, the territory as far south as the confluence of the Alleghany and Ohio rivers, where a post was established, known as Fort Duquesne, probably so named in honor of a governor of New France of that name. A British force under General Braddock made an incautious attempt to capture the Fort, but was repulsed by French and Indians with the loss of the general and a considerable number of men. A second attempt, however, by the British was easily accomplished. The fort was renamed Pittsburgh, in honor of the then British premier, Pitt the elder. Fourteen years after the conquest of New France the Quebec Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament, defining the boundaries of Canada as above; but when American independence was acknowledged, the terms of which were arranged by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, Canada's southern and westerly boundaries were moved a long distance northward and eastward, to the aggrandisement of the new Republic of North America, henceforth to be known as the United States of America.

But to return to Governor de Jonquiere, now strongly suspected of not only conniving at the dishonesty of government officials, but also of participating in ill-gotten gains himself. The suspicions appeared to be well founded, owing to the fact that upon a salary of fourteen hundred dollars per annum he amassed the large sum of two hundred thousand dollars in three years, with no opportunity of making a sudden fortune by stock gambling, as sometimes accidentally happens in the present day. Complaints were formulated against the governor, which were about to be investigated, when he offered to resign; his career was now, however, cut short by death.

Baron de Longeuil became administrator until the arrival of M. Duquesne as governor-general, who had for chief colleagues Bishop Pontbriand, the last bishop under French rule, and the unspeakable Bigot as royal intendant.

Governor Duquesne was not long in discovering that the affairs of the colony had fallen into a very unsatisfactory condition. The commandants at many posts were more concerned in private speculations than in the discharge of their duties. Both the civil and military branches of the service were almost hopelessly demoralized. He did what he could to remedy the evils, but was unable to root out many of the abuses. He was, however, successful in reorganizing and drilling the militia, which comprised the very respectable force of fifteen thousand men. M. Duquesne, having presided for three years, was succeeded by M. de Vaudreuil, a son of the former governor-general of that name, and a native of the colony, whom we shall meet again.

CHAPTER II.

ACADIA.

WE must now take leave of the river and lake colony in New France for a comparatively short interval, and devote some attention to the important maritime colony of Acadia, comprising at this time Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island and part of Massachusetts, a territory which in its early history experienced many changes and vicissitudes.

The first settlement was formed by the French at Port Royal—the name of which was subsequently changed to Annapolis by the British. The colony, or at least a portion of it, was taken from the French by the British in 1613.

King James I. of England and VI. of Scotland, in a generous moment granted to a Scotch knight, Sir William Alexander, a vast domain upon which the grantee bestowed the permanent name of Nova Scotia —New Scotland—in keeping with the naming of other transatlantic colonies, such as New England and New France. An attempt in the same direction was made in later times to affix the name of New Ireland to the colony of Prince Edward Island, but the Imperial authorities disallowed the proposal.

The first experience in permanently colonizing Nova Scotia by English-speaking people was not successful. The fortress of Quebec was meanwhile taken

from the French by the English, which, however, was, along with Acadia or Nova Scotia, restored to the French by King Charles I. of England, an unfortunate transaction for the English, resulting in a long train of calamities to Great Britain and her colonies. Nova Scotia was again taken from the French by the English in 1654, and restored in 1667. It was taken again from France by New Englanders in 1690, and restored to France in 1696. Meanwhile the French commenced the colonization of Cape Breton in 1708, with M. Constable as governor, and M. St. Ovid, as lieutenant-governor. The English again captured the country in 1710. By a treaty in 1713 the French ceded Nova Scotia to Great Britain, but retained Cape Breton, with headquarters at Louisbourg, which was now strongly fortified.

A British American Government was formed in Nova Scotia the following year at Port Royal, now renamed Annapolis in honor of Queen Anne, the first sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain—England and Scotland having recently entered into a political and territorial union, and to be henceforth known as Great Britain, and its government, army and navy to be designated British, and not either English or Scotch.

General Nicholson, the commander-in-chief, may be considered as the first governor of Nova Scotia, although no council was formed until Governor Phillips succeeded him as governor, whereupon a council was constituted, comprised of John Doucet, Lawrence Armstrong, Paul Mascerine, Cyprian Southick, John Harrison, Arthur Savage, John Adams, Hibbert Newton, William Skee, William Sheriff, Peter Boudrie

and Gillam Phillips. Few British families had settled in the province at this time, and the Acadians having refused to take the oath of allegiance, the council, with the exception of Mr. Adams, was composed of the officers of the garrison and public departments.

In 1745 some New Englanders—British Yankees—aided, somewhat reluctantly at first, by the British Admiral Warren, gallantly captured the French stronghold of Louisbourg. The plan of attack, it is said, was prepared by a New England lawyer, and carried into effect by New England farmers and merchants, all of whom manifested unmistakable bravery and skill. Two years later the government of Great Britain repeated the blunder of restoring Cape Breton to France, thereby creating most intense dissatisfaction throughout New England, whose people had made heavy sacrifices to secure strategic and other advantages for the British Empire, which the latter was slow to properly appreciate.

However, apart from the diplomatic blunder of restoring Cape Breton to the French, and of the long neglect of the garrison and post at Annapolis, the British Government two years later inaugurated a vigorous policy of colonization in Nova Scotia proper. The Honorable Edward Cornwallis was sent out with a large and well-equipped expedition to commence the chief settlement at Chebucto, which he renamed Halifax, in honor of one of His Majesty's ministers. Rapid progress was made in clearing land and erecting buildings. In a comparatively short time Halifax was fixed upon as the seat of government. Paul Mascerine, with a quorum of his council was sent for.

Cornwallis thereupon invited the following gentlemen on board the transport *Beaufort,* and had them sworn in as members of His Majesty's council, viz., Paul Mascerine, Edward Howe, John Gorham, Benjamin Green, John Salisbury and Hugh Davidson. Governor Cornwallis having executed the trust reposed in him, returned to Britain, and was succeeded in the oversight of the province by Peregrine Thomas Hopson in 1752.

As there was something repugnant to the feelings of Britishers over the system of government temporarily adopted, only the most pressing laws and ordinances were enacted for the preservation of peace and good order until the inhabitants were sufficiently numerous for the establishment of representative government.

The judiciary system, barring some slight defects, worked fairly well. The progress of the Halifax colony was quite active, despite some drawbacks occasioned by Indian reprisals, which it is supposed were connived at by the French. It is alleged, in particular, that a certain Father la Loutre was a very bad specimen of political priest, who persistently gave the British all the trouble he possibly could. He also proved to be an ill-adviser of the Acadians in urging them not to take the oath of allegiance. Governor Hopson had presided but one year when failing health compelled him to resign. He was succeeded in the governorship by Major Charles Lawrence in 1753, whose name, barring the expulsion of the Acadians, is favorably connected with the history of Nova Scotia. The peculiar situation of the Acadians embarrassed the local government of the province, who were for a

long time at a loss to determine the most expedient course to pursue towards them. They were not British subjects, inasmuch as they declined to take an unconditional oath of allegiance, and at the same time could not be designated rebels. They were not prisoners of war, because they held their possessions for nearly half a century, and were a quiet, happy, prosperous people. They wished to pose as neutrals between France and Great Britain, consequently, if sent out of the country, it could not expediently be to France it was said. The local government, being apprehensive that they could not trust the Acadians in the event of not improbable future hostilities between France and Great Britain, resolved upon the most deplorable and painful expediency of a wholesale expatriation of the comparatively large and important community of Acadians to the then British provinces of Pennsylvania, Georgia, and other of the colonies. This fatal decision was abruptly put in force without giving the victims an opportunity to arrange any of their personal or domestic affairs, or of making any provision for their future welfare among strangers of a different language, religion and habits, thereby exposing them to the most cruel hardships and inconveniences. Making due allowance for the dilemma in which the local authorities were placed in consequence of the Acadians ill-advisedly not agreeing to become British subjects as their compatriots in Canada under similar circumstances wisely did, yet some more humane policy might surely have been safely devised than that of ruthlessly deporting them so harshly and unceremoniously.

The council, in the meantime, after a good deal of

deliberation decided upon an important constitutional change, which brought into existence the first parliament ever established in Canada, consisting of twenty-two elected members, sixteen of whom were elected from the province at large, four from Halifax township, and two from Lunenburg. The franchise was based upon freehold property, and Roman Catholics, in keeping with the narrow policy of the Mother Country, were disgracefully debarred from voting. The first parliament met on October 2nd, 1758, and elected Robert Sanderson as Speaker.

This, however, was only a partial step towards the full enjoyment of representative institutions, as the system of responsible government had not yet been conceded, consequently more or less friction between the assembly and the council naturally resulted. In these primitive times the sittings of the House were proclaimed by the ringing of a bell.

CHAPTER III.

NEW FRANCE.

1758-1763.

WE shall leave the maritime colony now in the possession of Great Britain, and return to the river and lake colony, still in the possession of France, but not destined to remain much longer under the French flag.

When we took leave of the river and lake colony, then better known under the appellation of New France, its temporal affairs were administered by the second Vaudreuil as governor-in-chief, and the dishonest and avaricious Intendant Bigot. Its spiritual affairs were presided over by Bishop Pontbriand, who was also a member of the Superior Council. Vaudreuil was far from an ideal governor, and Bigot was a thorough-going rascal, consequently the affairs of the colony were getting into a most deplorable condition. The inhabitants and the home government were alike systematically robbed by Bigot and his confederates. The relations between the civil governor, Vaudreuil, and the commander of the regular forces, the gallant General Montcalm, were greatly strained, and no mutual confidence or sympathy subsisted between the civil and military authorities. It was at this critical period that the great British statesman, Wm. Pitt the elder, afterwards Lord Chatham,

premier of Great Britain, was pursuing a vigorous and aggressive campaign against France in North America for the expulsion of that power from Cape Breton and New France, now Canada, all of which was accomplished by the capture of Louisbourg in 1758, Quebec in 1759, and Montreal and the West in 1760, resulting in the ceding to Great Britain, by France, of the whole of Canada. The victors generously and happily accorded the most honorable terms to the vanquished, which have ever been highly appreciated by French-Canadians. The articles of capitulation at Quebec were signed by General Townsend and Admiral Saunders on behalf of Great Britain, and by M. de Ramsay on behalf of France, the chief commanders of the respective armies, Wolfe and Montcalm, having both fallen in battle. One of the British generals, Murray, who was present at the taking of Quebec, was made governor, and proved to have been well fitted for the trying position in which he was placed. On the capitulation of Montreal, in the following year, the generous terms of surrender were signed by Governor Vaudreuil, on behalf of France, and General Amherst on behalf of Great Britain. The French general, de Levis, declined to sign the articles of treaty, which he considered not sufficiently liberal. As Great Britain and France were still at war with each other in the Old World the ultimate lot of Canada could not be finally settled by the terms of the capitulation. It was, however, settled three years later by the Treaty of Paris, to which reference will be made later on.

Meanwhile, the commander-in-chief, General Amherst, established a military system of government, in virtue of which the affairs of the colony were placed

under the control of councils of military officers appointed for the districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. General Murray, as chief ruler, was placed over the Quebec district, General Gage at Montreal, and Colonel Burton at Three Rivers, respectively. It was provided that the local affairs of the inhabitants and the adjustment of differences among themselves should be deputed, as far as practicable, to the charge of the Canadian captains of militia. The commander-in-chief of the British forces now withdrew from Canada. The two and a half years' interval between the capitulation of Montreal and the Treaty of Paris, was a comparatively happy period for the down-trodden inhabitants, numbering about sixty-five thousand souls, who had endured the greatest of hardships and privations inflicted upon them, under the fortunes of war, during the struggle by both of the contending parties. No more pathetic history is recorded than that of the inoffensive and industrious early Canadian and Acadian people, who suffered so severely, through no fault of their own, in many ways through the varying vicissitudes incidental to the repeated struggles through which the Franco-American colonies had passed.

The population had now, in 1763, accepted with good grace the altered situation, and were as contented as could be expected under the rule of officials alien to them in nationality, religion, language and manners, who were, however, otherwise very properly just and humane towards the new subjects.

By Article 4 of the Treaty of Paris the King of France renounced in favor of Great Britain, all pretensions and rights to Canada, Nova Scotia (Acadia), the Island of Cape Breton. and all other islands and

coasts in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, and everything that depended upon said countries. His Britannic Majesty, on his part, agreed to grant the liberty of the Roman Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada. He consequently gave the most explicit orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Roman Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain would permit.

His Britannic Majesty also agreed that the French inhabitants, or others, who had been subjects of the French king in New France, may retire with safety and freedom whenever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of His Britannic Majesty, or to bring away their effects as well as their persons without being restrained in their emigration, the term limited for this emigration to be eighteen months, to be computed from the date of the ratification of the treaty.

By Article 5 liberty is granted to the French for fishing and drying on parts of the coast of Cape Breton and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to a distance not nearer than three miles of the coasts of the islands and continent. Fishing on the coast of Nova Scotia to be regulated by former treaties.

Article 6 concedes to the King of France the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon in full right to serve as shelter for fishermen, but not to fortify and build on them, and to have a guard of only fifty men for police. The ratification of the last two articles proved to be a diplomatic blunder on the part of the British, the evil effects of which are still felt most seriously in Newfoundland.

CHAPTER IV.

QUEBEC.

1763-1791.

GENERAL MURRAY remained in office as governor of the Province of Quebec until 1768. The Test Act being still in force the French-speaking people could not serve in his council without abjuring the doctrine of transubstantiation; this they refused to do. The test was shortly after abolished, and the simple oath of allegiance adopted under the Quebec Act. His report upon the condition of the colony was much more flattering to the natives of the province tha nto the British emigrants and retired soldiers of those days. Some of the French inhabitants returned to France, but were mostly of the official class. The vast majority o fthe people, however, remained in Canada.

Sir Guy Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester) succeeded General Murray in 1768, and ever proved to be a most efficient governor. Meanwhile the seventy-five thousand natives were enjoying peace and contentment under the commendable and magnanimous treatment which was meted out to them by the new rulers. On the other hand the four hundred inhabitants of British origin were already clamoring and petitioning for the immediate fulfilment of the proclamation of 1763, which intimated that repre-

sentative institutions would follow. The chief aim of the small minority was evidently to rule the large majority, who had not yet been enfranchised. The existing form of government was carried on by the governor-general, the lieut.-governors of Three Rivers and Montreal, and eight councillors appointed by the governor-general. Only one of the councillors was of French origin—certainly an inadequate representation of the majority. This mode of government was established by an order of council of the Imperial Government, and continued for eleven years, until the passing by the Imperial Parliament of the historical Quebec Act of 1774. The provisions of the Quebec Act, while satisfactory to the native majority, was adversely criticised by the English-speaking people, both in the colony of Great Britain, and in the New England colonies, and not without some reasons from their standpoint, as some French laws and usages were adopted. The preamble of the Quebec Act repealed all portions of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, establishing civil government, and revoked the commissions of the judges and civil officers appointed under the proclamation. It then defined the boundaries of the province, which reached from Labrador to the head of the Ohio River, and to the east side of the Mississippi River. The exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was declared free, and the clergy maintained in their own right the tithes, but only from those of their own church. All His Majesty's subjects were secured in full possession of their property. The English criminal and the French civil laws were adopted, but subject to amendment by the governor and Legislative Council, the council to be

appointed by the Crown, and to consist of not less than seventeen members, or more than twenty-three members. Its general powers were limited, and all ordinances were to be submitted for royal assent within six months after enactment. All right of external taxation or levying duties on imports were reserved for the British Crown, with the exception of customs duties on spirits and molasses, which, however, did not produce sufficient revenue for the expenses of government. The deficiency was therefore supplied from the Imperial treasury. This measure, familiarly known as the Quebec Act, was popular among the French-speaking inhabitants, but proved to be not only distasteful to the English-speaking people of Canada, but also aroused much dissatisfaction in the British provinces to the south, which now forms the great American Republic. It is alleged that the provisions of the Quebec Act added greatly to the growing discontent, which in a few years subsequently culminated in the revolt and final independence of said provinces. It is worthy of remark that, incidental to the bloody and unnatural struggle which ensued between the American provinces and the Mother Country, Canada was invaded by the Americans, who appealed earnestly but unsuccessfully to lure the French-speaking people into joining them in the revolution against Great Britain.

Governor Carleton having at this time only two small regiments and a few militia at his disposal for the defence of Canada could not therefore prevent the falling of Montreal, Chambly and St. Johns into the hands of the Americans, but he successfully defended the grand old capital, repulsing the Americans with

considerable loss, including their general, Montgomery, who received his death wound while attempting to scale the heights of Cape Diamond. After these events the government of the colony went on successfully. Important and useful laws were enacted which received the Royal assent. The Legislative Council was now (in 1777) composed of twenty-three members, of whom eight were Roman Catholics. The Privy Council consisted of Messrs. Collins, Dunn, Finlay and Mabane, who were also members of the Legislative Council. The chief justice, M. Livius, an alleged leader of the British party, attempted to assail the constitutionality of Governor Carleton's policy, and thereby compassed his own dismissal.

Governor Carleton now retired from office, carrying with him the affection and good-will of all the inhabitants, and more especially of the French-Canadians.

Major-General Frederick Haldimand succeeded Sir Guy Carleton as governor, in 1777, and has been characterized by some authors as a most tyrannical and meddling ruler.

It was during Haldimand's term that the province received a large and valuable addition to its population through the influx of a most desirable class of settlers, known as the United Empire Loyalists, who refused to remain under the Stars and Stripes after the Treaty of Paris, which confirmed the independence of the United States, and which also took from Canada a large area lying to the south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River; all this valuable territory, as before stated, was included within the boundary of Canada, as defined by the Quebec Act of 1774.

Surveys were commenced in the summer of 1783, and townships laid out westward of the French settlements on Lake St. Francis. Settlements followed immediately along the St. Lawrence River, and as far west as the river Trent, and soon afterwards at Niagara and Amherstburgh. A census of the white population of the province was taken about this time, and was found to number 113,012 souls. The Indian population nearly at the same time also received a large accession by the emigration of a body of Iroquois to a reservation on the Grand River in Canada, the said Indians having incurred the displeasure of the Americans by their fealty to the British flag. The Imperial Government becoming convinced of the unsuitability of General Haldimand as a civil governor recalled him at his own request.

Sir Henry Hamilton was appointed to succeed General Haldimand as governor. The new governor lost no time in convening a meeting of the council, and submitted the propriety and expediency of introducing the Habeas Corpus Act, the advisability of which had been determined upon by the British Privy Council as a protection for the subject against arbitrary rulers, such as Haldimand had proved to be, in the matter of making arrests. The proposition was carried out, and met with general approval. Mr. Hamilton's term as governor lasted but one year. He was succeeded for a brief period by Mr. Henry Hope, under whose governorship nothing of importance transpired.

The agitation for representative government was again resumed by the English-speaking element. The movement was greatly strengthened at this time by the advent of the United Empire Loyalists. Canadian

affairs thus again occupied the attention of the British parliament, and in June, 1780, Sir Guy Carleton, now raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester, was appointed governor-general of Canada and the Maritime Provinces, and also commander-in-chief of all the forces in British America. His arrival in Quebec was hailed most joyfully, especially by the French-Canadians. The governor-general at once convened a meeting of the council, and laid before them certain suggestions with regard to ascertaining the exact condition of the colony. The council was divided into committees to inquire into the various branches of the public service. The members of the committees were most assiduous and painstaking in their researches before making their respective reports, the results of which showed an unsatisfactory state of matters. Charges were made against the judges of drunkenness, incompetency and partiality. The English judges followed English law, and the French judges followed French law. One judge, who apparently understood no law at all, gave his decision on the equity of the case, without any respect to either French or English law.

Trade was in a bad condition, education at a low ebb. There were no public schools, and few private ones outside of Montreal and Quebec. The committee suggested the establishment of elementary schools in all the parishes, district schools for the higher branches, also a university, and that the Jesuits estates and a portion of the public lands should be set apart for the maintenance of the large and commendable scheme of general education. These reports were forwarded by the governor-general to the home gov-

ernment, but some time elapsed before action was taken upon them. The agitation for representative government continued, however, in the meantime.

The territory now forming the Province of Ontario was chiefly assigned for the future homes of a large section of the United Empire Loyalists, and was in July, 1788, divided into four districts, named Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse, and formed part of the district of Montreal. English laws, to be administered by a court of general quarter sessions, were permitted in these districts, as the inhabitants knew nothing of the French language. A further effort on the part of the English-speaking element in 1790 for obtaining representative government was more successful. Mr. Adam Lymburner, a leading merchant of Quebec City, visited London and urged the views of the English-speaking party, which he represented so successfully that a bill was prepared by Mr. Grenville, the then colonial secretary, and submitted for approval to Lord Dorchester the governor-general of what is now known as Canada, after which it was presented to the British House of Commons by Mr. Pitt in the spring of 1791. The bill carried out an idea which probably originated, owing to the circumstance of the recent settlement of the United Empire Loyalists, in the western part of the province of keeping the two races separate and distinct, by dividing the Province of Quebec into two provinces, to be designated respectively Upper and Lower Canada. Mr. Fox took an opposite view, and argued that the two races should be more closely drawn together. Mr. Pitt, however, persisted in his opinion that it would give greater satisfaction to both

the English and French-speaking people to have the province divided. The English-speaking minority in the proposed province of Lower Canada, represented by Mr. Lymburner and others, were strongly opposed to the division of the province, and subsequent results proved the wisdom of their contention. Despite all remonstrances against it the division of the province was carried into effect, and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada continued as distinct colonies for about half a century when they were happily reunited under the name of the Province of Canada instead of Quebec, as formerly.

By the above-mentioned Constitutional Act of Mr. Pitt, legislative councils and assemblies were authorized in each province. Lower Canada with its much greater population was allowed an elective assembly of not less than fifty members and a legislative council of not less than fifteen members, who were to be appointed by the Crown for life.

Upper Canada was to have not less than sixteen members in the elective assembly, and not less than seven members in the Legislative Council, to be appointed by the Crown for life. Legislative councillors and clergymen were debarred from holding seats in the Assembly.

The qualification of voters in the country parts was a freehold, or holding of the value of forty shillings a year, over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of same. Sessions of parliament were to be held yearly. The powers of the House of Assembly were more limited than that of the Imperial House of Commons, nor were the principles of responsible government adopted, which was a source

of much subsequent bickering between the Assembly and the Council. The Assembly was also hampered by the council in dealing with matters of finance and trade, subjects which ought to have been delegated to the popular branch of the legislature, but were not. The government, probably for the precautionary defence of the country, was carried on chiefly by a succession of military governor-generals, who were upright and honorable men in their own professions, but knew little of constitutional statecraft or political ethics. It is not, therefore, to be wondered that the new constitution did not continue very long to work quite harmoniously, and that intermittent friction and deadlocks ensued, finally resulting in the suspension of the constitution of Lower Canada some forty years later.

By proclamation, dated 18th November, 1791, at the castle of St. Louis, which was the official residence of the former French and succeeding British governors, the lieutenant-governor, Alured Clarke, Esq., in the absence of Lord Dorchester, governor-in-chief, declared that the Constitutional Act should take effect in both provinces of Lower and Upper Canada on the 26th December, 1791. The dividing line of the two new provinces commenced at a stone monument on the north bank of Lake St. Francis, at the cove west of the Pointe au Baudet on the boundary between the township of Lancaster, and the seigniory of New Longueuil, running along the said boundary in the direction of north thirty-four degrees west, to the westernmost angle of the said seigniory of New Longueuil, thence along the north-west boundary of the seigniory of Vaudreuil, running north twenty-five

degrees until it strikes the Ottawa River to Lake Temiscamingue, and from the head of said lake by a line drawn due north until it strikes the boundary line of Hudson Bay, including all the territory to the westward and southward of the said line to the utmost extent of the country commonly called Canada.

The event was celebrated in the town of Quebec by great rejoicings, and it was mutually agreed that all distinctions between the old and new subjects should hereafter cease, and that they should be united in one body, as the only means of promoting the happiness and the prosperity of the whole. These were wise, noble, and patriotic resolves. Happy would it have been had these sentiments been earnestly and practically carried out in after years; but unfortunately the high resolves then taken were forgotten all too soon by a coterie of mutually unpatriotic politicians of the two races, and as regards the French-speaking element, the prime agitators of it were not men generally hailing from the district of Quebec, but rather from a comparatively small area at a point farther west in the province.

CHAPTER V.

LOWER CANADA.

1791-1796.

LOWER CANADA at this period was the largest and most populous of the British-American provinces, and in its capital the governor-in-chief made his official residence. Consequently that province will naturally engross a very large share of attention in the succeeding narrative of the respective provinces. Upper Canada at this time contained a population of only about 10,000 souls.

By proclamation, dated at the Castle of St. Louis, Quebec, 7th May, 1792, Lower Canada was divided into electoral districts, comprising counties, cities and towns, and the limits of each defined. The counties were Gaspe, Cornwallis, Devon, Hertford, Dorchester, Buckinghamshire, Richelieu, Bedford, Surrey, Kent, Huntingdon, York, Montreal, Effingham, Leinster, Warwick, St. Maurice, Hampshire, Quebec, Northumberland and Orleans. Twenty-one counties in all, besides the cities and towns of Quebec and Montreal, and the boroughs of Three Rivers and William Henry (now Sorel). These counties were each to return two representatives to the Assembly, with the exception of Gaspe, Bedford and Orleans, which were to return but one representative each. The towns of Quebec and Montreal were to return four representa-

tives each, Three Rivers two, and William Henry one, in all fifty representatives.

The writs for the elections bore date of 24th May and were returnable on the 10th of July. The elections took place in June, and were warmly contested, and on the whole a good selection was made, the best, some will have it, which was made during the existence of Lower Canada as a province. His Royal Highness Prince Edward, father of our much beloved late Queen Victoria, was stationed in the City of Quebec during the election, and hearing of undue excitement at the Charlesbourg polling place in the county of Quebec, repaired to the spot and averted the hostilities which were about to break out, by appealing to their better natures. His Royal Highness, being universally popular, mounted an eminence, and gave the command for silence; he then addressed the crowd by urging peace and unity, and was cheered to the echo by both factions. His concluding words were, "Let me hear no more of the odious distinctions, English and French; you are all his Britannic Majesty's Canadian subjects." The tumult ceased; menace, rage and fury gave place to language of admiration and applause.

The general election resulted as follows: Gaspe, Edward O'Hara. Cornwallis, P. L. Panet and Jean Dige. Devon, F. Dambourges and J. Todd. Hertford, P. Marcoux and L. Daniere. Dorchester, J. E. Taschereau and L. de Salberry. Buckinghamshire, A. J. Duchenay and J. M. Tonnancour. William Henry, John Barnes. Richelieu, Pierre Guerant and B. Cherrier. Bedford, J. B. M. H. de Rouville. Surrey, P. Rochblave and F. Malhoit. Kent, Rene Boileau and

P. L. Pierville. Huntingdon, H. S. Dupre and G. C. Lorimer. York, M. G. C. de Lotbiniere and P. S. de Bonne. Montreal City, West Ward, James McGill and J. B. Durocher; East Ward, J. Frobisher and I. Richardson. Montreal County, Joseph Papineau and James Walker. Effingham, J. Jordan and Joseph Lacroix. Leinster, F. A. Laroque and B. Panet. Warwick, R. P. M. Lavaltrie and L. Olivier. St. Maurice, T. Coffin and A. Rivard. Three Rivers, J. Lees and N. St. Martin. Hampshire, M. McNider and J. Baudreau. Quebec City, Upper Town, J. A. Panet and W. Grant; Lower Town, R. Lester and J. Young. Quebec County, L. de Salabery and D. Lynd. Northumberland, Pierre Bedard and J. Dufaure. Orleans, N. Boisseau. Fifteen members of British and thirty-five of French origin—certainly a large proportion for the former according to their numbers. The members received no indemnity or sessional allowance for their services and travelling expenses, which must have been very inconvenient for many members.

The Legislative Council was composed of J. G. Chausegros de Léry, Hugh Finlay, Picotté de Belestre, Thomas Dunn, Paul Roc de St. Ours, Edward Harrison, Francois Baby, John Collins, William Smith, Joseph de Longueuil, Charles de Lanandiere, George Pownal, R. A. de Boucherville, John Fraser. The receiver-general, Henry Caldwell, was soon afterwards added to the council.

Parliament met for the first time on the 17th December, 1792, in the old Bishop's Palace.

The House of Assembly elected for its Speaker Mr. J. A. Panet, an eminent lawyer and member for

Upper Town, Quebec, and William Smith was appointed Speaker of the Legislative Council by the Crown. The old Executive Council appears to have been continued in office for the time being.

The lieutenant-governor's speech, for which he was himself responsible, unlike the governor's speeches from the throne of to-day, for which the ministry of the day are now responsible, was most felicitous and appropriate to the great occasion, and drew most cordial responses from both houses in reply to the speech from the throne.

The House of Assembly settled down to work in framing a variety of standing rules relating to the proceedings of the House and mode of enacting laws, etc. The militia laws and educational matters were dealt with. It was resolved to assist Great Britain against France in any military struggles which might ensue, and it was agreed after full discussion to employ both the English and French languages in the conduct of parliamentary business. The session lasted about seven months, and was prorogued on the 9th May, 1793.

Parliament met again for a second session on 9th November, 1793, and was opened in person by Lord Dorchester, who had returned to Canada. Lieutenant-Governor Clarke went back to England, bearing with him the best wishes of the people.

Lord Dorchester's speech from the throne, as might be expected, was both clear and important, and much appreciated by the Assembly.

The expenditures vastly exceeded the revenue, but the government of Great Britain cheerfully supplied the deficiency until means could be supplied to render

the sources of revenue more productive. Five bills were passed. Mr. Speaker Panet having been appointed to a judgeship, M. de Lotbiniere succeeded to the speakership in his stead.

Power was taken to appoint commissioners to treat with commissioners from Upper Canada, to regulate the customs duties or drawbacks to be allowed that province on importations through Lower Canada.

Parliament met again on 5th January, 1795. Lord Dorchester delivered the speech from the throne, expressing much satisfaction with the Assembly, and at the same time tendering some excellent and acceptable advice; and so matters went on very harmoniously between the Assembly and His Excellency.

Parliament met again on the 20th November, 1795, being the last session of the first parliament. Everything in the way of government was going on satisfactorily as usual. The only depressing experience of the times was due to a general deficiency in the harvests of both Europe and Canada; under these exceptional circumstances the provincial administration deemed it expedient to prohibit the export of wheat and breadstuffs for a short fixed period.

His Excellency Lord Dorchester prorogued parliament on the 7th May, 1796, in a most happy and reassuring speech. He having decided to leave Canada on the 9th July following, many addresses couched in sincere and endearing language were addressed to him by all classes on the eve of his final departure from Canada.

CHAPTER VI.

UPPER CANADA.

1791-1799.

GOVERNMENT OF COL. JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, EX-M.P.

THE first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada was a gentleman of experience, being a soldier and parliamentarian; he having served in the army, and also sat in the British House of Commons. He organized his executive council at Kingston, after which a proclamation and writs were issued for the election of sixteen members to the Assembly, to be elected upon a freehold or leasehold franchise—in counties of a clear value of forty shillings a year—in towns upon a house and lot of the yearly value of five pounds sterling. Clergymen and legislative councillors were not eligible to sit in the Assembly.

The following representatives* were returned at the polls: Glengarry, First Riding, Hugh McDonell; Second Riding, John McDonell. Stormont, Jeremiah French. Dundas, Alex. Campbell. Grenville, Ephraim Jones. Leeds and Frontenac, John White. Ontario and Addington, Joshua Booth. Northumber-

* A most interesting sketch of the lives of the above-named members will be found in "The First Legislators of Upper Canada," by Mr. C. C. James, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Toronto.

land and Prince Edward, Philip Dorland. Lennox and Hastings, Hazelton Spencer. York and Lincoln, First Riding, Nathaniel Pettit. Lincoln, Second Riding, Benjamin Pauling. Lincoln, Third Riding, Isaac Swaze. Lincoln and Norfolk, Fourth Riding, Parshall Terry. Suffolk and Essex, David W. Smith. Kent, William McComb and Francis Baby.

Mr. Dorland, being a Quaker, refused to take the oath, causing a new writ to be issued, and the election of Peter Van Alstine resulted in his stead.

The choice of members was evidently a good one, judging by the useful legislation which followed their deliberations.

The first session of the first parliament met at Newark, now Niagara-upon-the-Lake, on the 17th September, 1792, and elected John McDonell, member for the Second Riding of Glengarry, as Speaker. Mr. McDonell, being a Roman Catholic, would probably not have been eligible outside of Upper and Lower Canada within the British Empire, under the then existing Test Act, happily since abolished throughout the Empire.

The Legislative Council was comprised of Robert Hamilton, Richard Cartwright, John Munroe, William Osgoode, James Baby, Alex. Grant and Peter Russell, who were on the whole good, reliable men. William Osgoode was appointed Speaker of the Legislative Council by the Crown.

The Executive Council was as follows: William Osgoode, William Robertson, James Baby, Alex. Grant and Peter Russell. It will be observed that the House of Assembly had no representative in the Executive Council, which soon caused trouble. How

different this was from administrations of the present time, where the great majority of executive councillors are now chosen from the popular chamber!

The heads of the departments were as follows: Attorney-General, John White; Secretary of the Province, William Jarvis; Solicitor-General, R. I. D. Gray; Receiver-General, Peter Russell; Surveyor-General, D. W. Smith; Indian Department, Col. John Butler; Military Secretary, Major Little Hale; Aide-de-Camp, Col. Thos. Talbot.

Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe ushered into life the new parliamentary system with all the pageantry and eclat available in those primitive times. The speech from the throne was appropriate and prophetic. The session lasted nearly one month, during which eight useful Acts were passed. Among these were enactments for the making more effective the government of Upper Canada in North America; the introduction of the British laws; for trial by jury; for the easier collection of small debts; for the regulation of tolls to be taken in grist mills.

The names of the districts of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse were changed to the Eastern, the Midland, the Home, and Western, and provision was made for building a jail and court-house in each of them.

Unfortunately before the division of the provinces had taken place the government of the original Province of Quebec had prodigally awarded large grants of lands to private individuals in the territory which subsequently became Upper Canada. The granting also by the Imperial Government, after the formation of the province, of one-seventh of all the lands for

church purposes was another error of judgment, apart from the mistaken pretensions of the Church of England to claim the whole grant for its particular communion, a claim which Governor Simcoe inadvisedly encouraged, but which Mr. Richard Cartwright, M.L.C., although himself a member of the Church of England, stoutly combatted as a gross injustice, seeing that the Church of England people only numbered a small proportion of the population. Mr. Cartwright also fought successfully against the contention of some of the ecclesiastics of his own church, who averred that no Protestant marriages were legal outside the Anglican Church. Apart from this display of ecclesiastical bias and his dislike of Americans, Governor Simcoe was an enthusiastic and successful friend of the infant province.

The total annual revenue of the province was then $4,300, out of which was paid the salaries of the Speaker and the secretaries.

The second session of parliament met at Newark on the 30th May, 1793, and passed thirteen bills during its sittings. One of the most noted of these enactments was the immediate curtailment of slavery, looking to its early abolition. Thus Upper Canada occupied the proud distinction of having set the first noble example of absolute human freedom to the whole world. Lower Canada did likewise during its first session of its second parliament; Great Britain forty-one years later; the United States seventy-two years later, and Brazil seventy-eight years later—all following the example of the infant parliament of Upper Canada.

Governor Simcoe now resolved upon changing the seat of government, owing to the proximity of Newark to the American frontier. He thought very favorably of the present site of London for the capital, but finally decided upon York, now Toronto, which then became the capital. Meantime the governor's undisguised prejudice and unguarded language against the Americans, particularly in the presence of Indians, brought about his recall. He was, however, subsequently appointed to the governorship of St. Domingo, where he discharged his duties satisfactorily. On the departure of Col. Simcoe, the Honorable Peter Russell, senior member of the Executive Council, assumed temporary charge of the lieutenant-governorship.

The journals of the parliament of Upper Canada between the years 1793 and 1797 are nowhere to be found. It is supposed that they were either burned by the American army, who captured York in the War of 1812-13, or were otherwise captured at sea by a privateer. Fortunately, however, the statutes of that period are extant, and contain a record of the very useful and necessary acts which were passed during the few sessions of that period, in which provision was made for the nomination and appointment of parish and town officers; for collecting assessments; for laying out and repairing highways; to confirm and make valid certain marriages; for the holding of courts and law of probate; respecting returning officers; for raising the rate of liquor licenses, the funds to be used for the payment of a sessional allowance for the members; an Act respecting jurors; to establish superior and small courts, courts of appeal, etc.; to prevent

cattle, horses, pigs, etc., from running at large; to build jails and court-houses in each district; to regulate the duty on stills; for the registration of deeds and wills; for the destruction of wolves; for the holding of courts, and selecting of juries; for the appointment of customs commissioners; respecting trade with the United States, and for dealing with felons coming into the province from other parts.

The journals for the second session and ensuing parliaments have been preserved, and represent that parliament opened at York on the 1st June, 1797. Seventeen bills were passed during the session. The most important measure was for the better defence and security of the province against the king's enemies. A session was held in 1798, during which seven useful Acts were passed. A session was held in 1799, and five useful Acts were passed. It is regretful, however, to find that despite the passing of good legislation during this period that it was otherwise a land-grabbing era, to the disadvantage of the actual settler, in which the lieutenant-governor himself participated. Mr. Russell's inglorious regime as lieutenant-governor terminated by the arrival of Major-General Peter Hunter at Toronto the same year.

The great Dominion of Canada being a federation of British-American provinces, united under the provisions of the British North America Act of 1867, each province having previously had a history of its own, it is, therefore, deemed expedient to adopt the following order of historical divisions:

Lower Canada from 1796 until union with Upper Canada, 1840.

Upper Canada from 1800 until union with Lower Canada, 1840.

Nova Scotia from 1758 until it formed part of the Dominion of Canada in 1867.

New Brunswick from 1784 until it formed part of the Dominion of Canada in 1867.

Prince Edward Island from 1770 until it formed part of the Dominion of Canada in 1873.

Province of Canada, from the union of Upper and Lower Canada into one province in 1840, until the formation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867.

Dominion of Canada from its formation in 1867 down to the present time.

British Columbia from its earliest political history until it became part of the Dominion of Canada in 1871.

Manitoba and the North-West from 1870 down to the present time.

The North-West Territories from 1875 until the present time.

Yukon from 1897 until the present time.

Newfoundland from 1832 to the present time.

CHAPTER VII.

SKETCHES OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF LOWER CANADA FROM 1796-1840.

Government of Major-General Robert Prescott, Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada.

THE general election for the second parliament took place during the months of June and July, 1796, and resulted in the return of only thirteen members of the previous parliament, and of the fifty members elected thirty-six were of French and fourteen of British origin. And it is worthy of remark that the English-speaking element have not since been able to further increase their proportion during the past one hundred years.

The new parliament met on the 14th January, 1797, and chose Mr. Panet again as Speaker of the House of Assembly.

The speech from the throne contained a reference to a recent treaty of amity, commerce and navigation favorable to the province, which had been concluded by His Majesty's government and the government of the United States. It stated that France, under the archusurper Napoleon Bonaparte, was still keeping up a desultory warfare among the nations, and that emissaries of that country were dis-

persed everywhere, holding out delusive prospects to the people in order to disturb the quiet of all settled governments, and that an attempt of that nature having been recently made in this province, it was expedient that the alien bill soon to expire should be prolonged.

The response to the speech from the throne by the Assembly was most cordial, and evinced a most commendable disposition to aid the lieutenant-governor in the preservation of His Majesty's government to the full extent of their power.

The lieutenant-governor having been promoted to the status of governor-general received the hearty congratulations of the House thereupon. Six important bills were passed during the session, of which one was to regulate the trade with the neighboring states; another ratified the provisional agreement with Upper Canada relative to custom duties; a third bill made more effectual provisions for the pilotage in the St. Lawrence River between Quebec and the Island of Bic; and, finally, an Act relating to returning officers at elections. Mr. Wm. Grant, member for Upper Town, Quebec, attempted to get the House committed to the establishment of a university on liberal principles, but his resolution was defeated by a majority of fifteen members. His Excellency assented to the bills which were passed during the session in most commendatory terms. The revenue of the previous year (1796) was £18,975, of which £1,040 belonged to Upper Canada for its share of duties collected. The expenses of government were £26,185, leaving a deficit of £7,110, which would have to be

borne by the Imperial Government. The revenue, however, continued to improve subsequently.

His Excellency General Prescott met parliament again on the 28th February, 1798, and again on the 29th March, 1799, for the last time. Only a very moderate amount of legislation took place during the last two sessions. The most noteworthy was the reappointment of an excellent commission to adjust the customs duties and drawbacks in a manner acceptable to Upper Canada. Matters seemed to have gone on smoothly and satisfactorily during Governor Prescott's regime, consequently he enjoyed the universal esteem of the inhabitants, who regretted his departure, and manifested the most gratifying proof of their high estimation of his conduct in the administration of the affairs of the province by a public acknowledgment of his valuable services.

Government of Sir Robert Shore Milnes, 1799.

Governor-General Prescott was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Milnes, who did not meet parliament until the 5th March, 1800. The speech from the throne contained nothing of especial interest, beyond commendation of the loyalty and patriotism manifested by the Canadian people towards the Mother Country, Great Britain, and also an expression of gratification over the intercourse happily subsisting between His Majesty's subjects and the citizens of the United States, which he hoped might long endure. The Assembly replied to the speech in most felicitous terms. A resolution was passed declaring the expediency of further encouraging the culture of hemp.

Charles Baptiste Bouc, member for Effingham, was expelled for having compounded an illegal act of one Etienne Drouin, who sold soaked wheat to Bouc for the purpose of increasing its weight. The latter, instead of prosecuting Drouin in a court of law, frightened him into the granting of his note for £75. Drouin afterwards laid the matter before the law officers of the Crown, who proceeded against Bouc for compounding a felony, for which expulsion from the House followed. Bouc was re-elected more than once, but was finally disqualified by Act of Parliament, and was cast into prison, which was certainly excessive punishment—pushed on, it is said, by a vindictive coterie, who had some personal pique against him.

Considerable discussion now arose over the decision of the government to take possession of the celebrated Jesuits' estates in the name of, and as the property of, His Majesty, the last member of the order, the Rev. Jean Joseph Casot, having died that year. Mr. Plante, member for Hampshire, moved a resolution, which was carried, asking for all papers and documents in connection with the case. This attempt at delay did not, however, affect the final result, the government having carried out their decision to take possession of the property for the purposes of the Crown. The Jesuits' Estates question, however, did not permanently rest here, and became a lively issue afterwards, which we shall meet again.

The system of granting a sessional allowance and mileage as an indemnity to meet the outlay for travelling and hotel expenses while attending the session had not yet been adopted in the parliament of Lower Canada, which must, therefore, have been a hardship

to many members, particularly during the long sessions. It is little wonder, therefore, that thinly attended sessions of members frequently resulted. The following salaries were paid to the chief officials in the public service:

The salary of the governor-general, £2,000, lately increased to £2,500; members of the Executive Council, £100 each; the clerk (Mr. Ryland), £400; chief justice at Quebec, £1,200; chief justice at Montreal, £900; each of the other judges, £500; the judges at Three Rivers, £300; the judge at Gaspe, £200; vice-admiralty judge, £200; secretary and registrar (George Pownall), £400; the attorney-general (Jonathan Sewell), £300, besides fees; the solicitor-general (M. Foucher), £200; receiver-general (Mr. Caldwell), £400; surveyor-general of lands (Mr. Holland), £300; surveyor-general of woods, a sinecure, (John Coffin), £200; inspector-general of public accounts (T. A. Coffin), £365; French translator (de Lamadiere), £200; grand voyer of the province (C. de Lamadiere), a sinecure, £500. The officials alone took £669 more than the revenue amounted to, without having expended anything for public improvements.

The members of the Executive Council at this time were Chief Justice Osgoode, Bishop Mountain, P. R. de St. Ours, Hugh Finlay, Francois Baby, Thomas Dunn, Joseph de Longueuil, Pierre Panet, Adam Lymburner, James McGill, Chief Justice James Monk, P. A. de Bonne, John Lees, A. J. Duchesney and John Young—certainly rather a large cabinet for the population and resources of the province. It is not surprising, then, that the members of the Assembly soon became discontented.

The legislative councillors at this time were Bishop Mountain, Hugh Finlay, Thos. Dunn, P. R. de St. Ours, Francois Baby, Joseph de Longueuil, Charles de Lanaudiere, Sir George Pownall, R. A. de Boucherville, Henry Caldwell, Chief Justice Monk, Sir John Johnston, Chartier de Lotbiniere, Gad Et Taschereau, Chief Justice Osgoode, Speaker.

Before the dissolution of parliament took place the salaries of some of the judges were materially increased as well as other expenditures, causing even a greater deficit than that of the previous year. The second parliament being now ended writs were issued for a general election, which was warmly contested. Some changes in the personnel of the House took place, but the proportion of French and English-speaking members remained about the same, with the addition of a German by birth, Mr. Wm. Vondenveldon, who was elected for Gaspe.

Parliament met on the 8th of January, 1801, and Mr. Panet was again chosen Speaker. The speech from the throne and the reply thereto were quite harmonious.

Free schools, to be supported by grants of land, were authorized. Bills for licensing billiard tables and for the imposition of duty upon tobacco and snuff were passed; another bill permitted the demolishing of the walls round the city of Montreal, which had now become a nuisance. The House was prorogued on the 8th April in a harmonious but commonplace speech by the lieutenant-governor.

Parliament met again on 11th January, 1802. Lieutenant-Governor Milnes congratulated the two Houses upon the return of peace recently concluded

between Great Britain and France. An appropriation of £1,200 was voted for the encouragement of hemp culture, which however was not a success, the inhabitants preferring to grow wheat, a decision perhaps pleasing to the clergy, as hemp was not subject to tithes. The Eastern Townships were now being opened for settlement, but progress was somewhat retarded for want of roads and from the past improvident land policy in the granting of large blocks of land to favorites and speculators. The session closed on April 5th.

Another session of parliament was convened on 8th February, 1803. The lieutenant-governor recommended the renewal of the militia law, and the taking of steps to remedy the insufficiency of the jails at Montreal and Quebec, and tendered congratulation upon the increase of the revenue. Six bills were passed, and then parliament was prorogued by the lieutenant-governor in a speech expressive of satisfaction.

A special session was called in August of the same year, consequent upon the breaking out of hostilities between Great Britain and France. The Alien Act and the Act for the better preservation of His Majesty's government had been allowed to expire on the advent of peace; it now became expedient to renew these laws. These duties were not only promptly but cheerfully performed, the session lasting but ten days. The utmost feeling of sympathy and loyalty towards Great Britain as against France prevailed in all quarters, which was most creditable to the French-speaking people, whose sense of justice and propriety at all times outweighed the ties of

blood. They were also out of sympathy with the arch-usurper Bonaparte.

Parliament was again convened on the 10th February, 1804. This was the last session of the third parliament. Some thirteen bills were passed, one of which provided for the care of the insane. The members parted with the executive on the best of terms, and returned to their constituents with the approbation of the lieutenant-governor, and with the conscientiousness of having discharged their duty.

The general election took place in July, 1804, for the fourth parliament, and the legislature met in July of the following year, 1805. Mr. Panet was again chosen Speaker. Much of the time of the session was occupied in inquiries relating to contested elections.

The important question of improving inland navigation engaged the attention of parliament for the first time. A policy on those lines was affirmed by a resolution, and £1,000 voted for that object; that sum, however, proved to be ridiculously inadequate for the contemplated object, but the desire to facilitate intercourse with Upper Canada was naturally so strong that the Assembly were convinced that nothing short of the construction of a canal would attain the object sought for.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to get the seigneurs to compound their feudal rights and dues with their censitaires. An unjust measure was unfortunately passed, chiefly by votes of country members, for the taxing of trade exclusively to defray the cost of erecting common jails in Quebec and Montreal. A bill was passed for the better regulation of pilots and shipping, and the establishing of the

Trinity House, and conferring upon the same important powers relating to navigation, licensing pilots, etc. One of the incidents of the session was the slight friction between the lieutenant-governor and the Assembly over a proposal to increase the salary of the French translator, to which the lieutenant-governor would not agree. The Assembly took umbrage at this and were about to record their displeasure when black rod summoned them to the council chamber for prorogation. This was the first instance since the establishment of the constitution that there had been any shadow of misunderstanding between the Executive and the Assembly, an unfortunate state of things which in later years nearly became chronic, and for which the governors were largely responsible.

The cost of the last general election was £545. The mail service to and from Great Britain during these times was fortnightly, direct in summer, and but monthly in winter, via Halifax. The mails for Upper Canada were forwarded on the following days after the arrival of the British mails at Quebec. The total arrival of ships at Quebec in 1805 were 146.

The lieutenant-governor sailed for England on the 5th August, leaving Mr. Dunn, as senior executive councillor, in charge as administrator. His Honor received a complimentary address from the citizens of Quebec on his departure; nevertheless he was not popular. The general estimate of him was that he was an easy, well-meaning man with but ordinary ability and little self-confidence, and easily influenced by the irresponsibles about him, to whom he looked for advice.

Government of the Hon. Thomas Dunn, 1805.

Mr. Dunn assumed the government as president of the council and administrator on 31st July, 1805, and convened parliament on the 22nd February, 1806. He congratulated the House especially on Nelson's great victory off Cape Trafalgar.

The jail bills, to which reference has already been made, whereby the mercantile community were alone taxed for the building of jails, caused so much dissatisfaction in commercial circles that the Imperial government had been petitioned to disallow the Act, but declined to interfere. At a complimentary dinner given by merchants in Montreal to the town and county of Montreal members, according to the report of speeches, which appeared in the *Gazette* newspaper, some unpalatable criticisms were indulged in against the country members generally for their part in voting for the unjust Jail Act. Thereupon a majority of the members of the Assembly deemed the editor of the *Gazette*, Mr. Edwards, guilty of a high breach of the privileges of the House, and unwisely sent the sergeant-at-arms to arrest him, but the editor successfully eluded the officer. Meanwhile the Quebec *Mercury* newspaper uttered some comments upon the crusade against the freedom of the press, whereupon the Assembly repeated the unwise act again of meddling with the liberty of the press, by arresting Editor Carey of the *Mercury*, who, however, apologized, and was set free.

Shortly after the transpiring of the *Gazette* and *Mercury* episodes a journal, *Le Canadien*, published in the French language, appeared. The enterprise

might easily have been a great power for good, but it is feared that the aim of the promoters was to sin in the same direction as did the English press, by inciting the prejudices of its readers in highly colored tales of wrongs toward the French-speaking race, to which its compatriots were advised and harangued to no longer submit. That the French-speaking people had grievances no one can deny, and it was doubtless too much to expect of ordinary human nature that a majority would submit very long to the control of the minority. Be that as it may, it is to be suspected that *Le Canadien* did not pursue a patriotic policy of conciliation towards its supposed adversaries. Its editors, like too many others of that calling, were forgetful of the divine precept delivered during the sermon on the mount, "Blessed are the peacemakers." It is greatly to be regretted that some estrangement between the two races was so soon to be engendered and intensified by the tone of the press, and by the officious acts of certain English-speaking functionaries, who were only too willing to trample upon the majority. Mr. Dunn, the administrator, prorogued parliament on the 19th April with some expressions of dissatisfaction over the incompletion of the necessary business, which he was of the opinion resulted through so many members declining to give their customary attendance. He, however, thanked them for what had been accomplished. It is just possible that some of the members could not afford to remain very long at the capital without any remuneration in the way of a sessional allowance to cover hotel and other expenses.

The revenue had considerably increased, and the arrivals as well as the construction of ships had also increased to a considerable extent.

Mr. Dunn still being unrelieved of the administratorship met the legislature on the 31st January, 1807, and made a patriotic appeal to the members to stand by him in upholding and working out successfully the invaluable constitution of the province, to which the Assembly responded nobly and sincerely. The administrator congratulated them upon the further brilliant successes of the British arms.

An unsuccessful attempt was made by a large minority of the House for an allowance to defray the expenses of members of the Assembly who resided at a distance from Quebec. This very reasonable and proper proposal was shelved by the small majority of two votes. An unsuccessful proposal was also made for the appointment of an authorized resident agent in Great Britain, which shared the same fate as the other attempt.

Mr. Lees, one of the members for Three Rivers, dying during the session, Mr. Hart, a prominent merchant, and an old and respected resident, was duly elected, but was not allowed to sit in parliament on account of his Jewish faith, the intolerant members of the Assembly taking exception to his religion. A bill to disqualify him was introduced, and underwent two readings. However the absurd rule was subsequently abolished during the reign of William IV. About this time the amicable feelings which had subsisted between Great Britain and the United States of America were unfortunately greatly strained. Our American neighbors talked of walking into Canada, expecting to be gladly received by the inhabitants, and that an easy conquest would result, an expectation in which they were woefully disappointed.

The administrator, Mr. Dunn, determined to test the public pulse in Canada on this subject, and accordingly gave directions for drafting by ballot or otherwise the fifth part of the whole militia of the province, with orders to hold themselves in readiness to march whenever it be found expedient. The command was no sooner given than executed. Never was an order obeyed with more cheerfulness and patriotism everywhere by all classes of the community. The French-Canadians outvying the inhabitants of British origin in enthusiasm and promptitude. The loyal and patriotic pastoral of the Roman Catholic Bishop Plessis, which was read in all the churches, followed by the singing of the Te Deum, was scarcely required to stimulate the loyal gallantry displayed by the French-Canadian people on that occasion, the spirit of which still pervades the descendants of the men of 1807, despite the hot-headed course of a small minority of the people thirty years later, to which subsequent reference must be made. The pro-English newspaper *Mercury* spoke in the highest terms of praise of the zeal and promptitude of the French-Canadians in not only responding to the draft, but also of volunteering with so much enthusiasm. The adjutant-general was filled with gratification at the hearty response, and the administrator placed on record a declaration: "That a more ardent devotion to His Majesty's person and government has never been witnessed in any part of the British Dominions, and that he would avail himself of the earliest opportunity to transmit an account of their conduct to the Imperial Secretary of State for the information of his most Gracious Sovereign, that it was the highest

happiness of his life to have had an opportunity to do justice to the zeal, loyalty and public spirit of His Majesty's subjects in this province." The absentee governor-general and lieutenant-governor continued to unjustly draw their salaries, in all £3,500, for several years, while the administrator received only his ordinary allowance as one of the judges of the Court of King's Bench for Quebec. He, however, on being relieved of the government by General Sir James Henry Craig, was justly the recipient of a substantial honorarium and a pension of £500 a year.

Government of Lieutenant-General John Henry Craig, 1807.

The new governor-general was a good soldier, and personally an excellent character in all respects, but was no adept in statecraft for the conciliation and harmonizing of discordant elements, and being surrounded by a clique of officials chiefly taken from the ranks of a small minority who feasted upon the means of the country, and who desired nothing better than the privilege of tyrannizing it over the majority, and however personally obsequious to His Excellency in appearance, they were nevertheless his virtual masters. The executive was, in fact, a bureaucracy, and the people were looked upon and treated as serfs and vassals of the officials lords. The secretary of the Executive Council, Mr. H. W. Ryland, seems never to have been kept in his proper place as a mere secretary, but, on the contrary, assumed the roll of meddler and dictator, striving always to ignore the rights of the majority, and in conjunction with a small coterie

endeavored to run the government generally. Such then were the surroundings of His Excellency during the four years of his regime. It will not, therefore, be surprising to find that the comparative harmony which had hitherto subsisted between the House of Assembly and the other branches of the legislature would soon receive a rude shock.

Parliament was convened on the 29th January, 1808, the governor-general going down to the House of Parliament in great state to open it, and was cheered by the assembled crowd. The speech from the throne was rather an able and acceptable one, and the reply to it was of a like character.

His Excellency warned the people against foreign emissaries who would doubtless strive to mislead the young and ignorant; at the same time he expressed a fervent wish that the British and United States governments might still arrive at some amicable understanding, and deplored the possibility of actual hostilities arising between the two kindred peoples.

Thirty-five bills were passed during the session, one of which, the Gaspe Jails' Bill, was reserved, but afterwards sanctioned; and an appropriation was made for much needed repairs to government house, Castle of St. Louis, which had been the official residence of many past governors, both from France and Great Britain. The Assembly passed a very proper bill to render ineligible judges from sitting and voting in the Assembly, which the Legislative Council very unjustly threw out, greatly to the annoyance of the members of the Assembly.

The business being over the Houses were prorogued on the 14th April, the governor-general delivering a

very appropriate speech. Thus terminated the fourth session of the fourth parliament of Lower Canada in apparent harmony with the executive, although signs were not wanting of gathering clouds in the distance with some indications of an approaching storm.

The general elections took place in May, and passed off in apparent tranquility, but with some changes of personnel in the representatives which are always incidental to general elections, and it is to be remarked that the English-speaking people were not numerically gaining ground in the elections. The Speaker, Mr. Panet, was defeated by Mr. Denecheau in his former constituency of Upper Town, Quebec, through the influence of the executive officials and military class; but having been nominated and elected for Huntingdon by his shrewd friends, who anticipated the design of his adversaries in Upper Town, was again elected to the speakership, much to the chagrin of the governor-general, who confirmed the choice in the coolest possible manner. The objection to Mr. Panet was owing to his alleged connection with *Le Canadien* newspaper. Among the new members was Mr. L. J. Papineau, elected for Kent, whose name hereafter figures largely in the history of the province. Mr. Papineau's father, it will be remembered, was in the first parliament, being one of the members for the county of Montreal, and again elected at the recent election for the East Ward of Montreal.

Parliament met on the 9th April, 1809, and expectation was on tiptoe as to the speakership, as Mr. Panet had been dismissed as lieut.-colonel in the militia, owing to his alleged connection with *Le Canadien* newspaper. It was surmised, therefore,

that he might not be re-elected Speaker; but it, however, resulted without the anticipated excitement in the choice of Mr. Panet.

The style of the speech from the throne was somewhat injudicious; members were lectured rather than propitiated, and reading between the lines of the reply to the speech from the throne indications were apparent that the governor-general's speech was not relished by the Assembly.

The House again took up the question of disqualifying judges from sitting and voting in the Assembly, and seemed to deliberate rather too long over that and another kindred question to suit the governor-general's military ideas. The House had been but twenty-three days in session when His Excellency inadvisedly swooped down in state upon parliament, and in a scolding humor dissolved the House which had been almost freshly elected by the people—certainly a most extraordinary stretch of his prerogative.

The new elections took place in October, and a stronger opposition than ever was elected, as might have been anticipated from the rash treatment meted out to the members. Of the new House thirty-seven members were of French and thirteen of British origin.

The new parliament met on the 29th January, 1810, and re-elected Mr. Panet Speaker, to which His Excellency assented with rather better grace than upon the former occasion. In his speech he adverted to the unfavorable disposition of the United States towards Great Britain, and of the success of the British arms over those of France, and among other matters he referred to the past proposal of the Assembly to ex-

clude judges from membership in that House, and that he would request His Majesty's royal assent to any such proper bill in which the two houses might concur. Here the Assembly unfortunately lost an opportunity of winning His Excellency's good-will, as instead of thanking him for his good intentions they blindly passed a resolution resenting his well-meant declaration on that question.

The Assembly then voted an address to King George III., congratulating him on the fiftieth year of his prosperous reign. The province was now getting to be very prosperous, the trade and revenue having greatly increased. The Assembly, therefore, resolved that the province was now able to pay all its own expenses without the usual grant from the Mother Country, and would in future bear all expenses of government, and expressed its gratitude for the past financial assistance which had been rendered by the home government. His Excellency, while pointing out the irregularity and unconstitutionality of the proceeding, on the ground that recommendations for money grants should originate with the Crown, he, however, acknowledged the good intention of the Assembly, and promised to forward a report of the same to His Majesty. The abrupt prorogation which shortly followed prevented the Assembly from giving effect to their commendable proposal in that behalf.

A bill was again passed by the Assembly for the exclusion of judges from sitting and voting in the Assembly. The Legislative Council amended the bill by inserting a somewhat reasonable clause postponing the operation of the bill until the expiration of the present parliament. The Assembly was unfortu-

nately in a refractory mood, and at once passed a resolution expelling the Hon. Judge de Bonne, one of the members elected by the people for Quebec County. This regrettable proceeding brought on a crisis. Had a responsible system of government then existed these rash proceedings would probably have been avoided on both sides.

His Excellency went down the following day and very capriciously dissolved the House, a course which was unfortunately applauded by many English-speaking persons. The excitement ran very high throughout the province, and all sorts of extravagant and preposterous reports were set afloat. The press teemed with diatribes. The two English papers on one side, and the French paper on the other side, aroused the worst possible race prejudices. An absurd rumor was circulated that the French ambassador at Washington was supplying large sums in gold to assist the French candidates, whose election would mean rebellion. This agitation unfortunately divided the population into a French and British party most bitterly hostile to each other. It may be safely asserted that the French candidates were in no need of a bribery fund to secure their election under the existing race feeling.

The elections were now approaching and the executive determined to strike a blow that would surprise the people and silence their leaders. On the 17th March, 1810, a party of soldiers, headed by a magistrate and two constables, proceeded in a most high-handed manner to the *Le Canadien* printing office in Quebec, under sanction of the executive, and forcibly seized the press and the contents of the office, and

locked up the same in the vault of the court-house. The printer was imprisoned, and two days later Messrs. Bedard, Blanchet and Taschereau, respectable, loyal and prominent members of parliament, were also cast into prison upon an unfounded suspicion of sedition. These gentlemen were anxious for a summary trial, which was not granted them. Some persons were also imprisoned in Montreal and otherwise ill-treated upon the same unfounded charge of disloyalty to the Crown.

On the strength of some rabid articles which had appeared in *Le Canadien* the executive went to the uncalled-for extremity of issuing a proclamation to the people of the province, warning the population against the teachings of the supposed disloyal leaders, and commanding all magistrates, captains of militia, peace officers and others of His Majesty's good subjects to make diligent inquiry and search for the discovery of the authors, publishers and dispensers of wicked, seditious and traitorous writings. The proclamation was an insulting and mischievous document. There has not to this hour been found the slightest proof that any design on the part of the said French party ever existed at that time for the subversion of government. The clamor of the people was merely against the abuses which they felt were being perpetrated by the executive of the province.

Chief Justice Sewell, at the March criminal sessions, called attention of the court to the above occurrences. The level-headed grand jury, however, in answer to his lordship, expressed their displeasure at the tone of both the French and English press, which had wantonly created prejudices and distrust

between His Majesty's subjects of different origin which could not now be easily allayed. Meanwhile the imprisoned members got no trial. During July one of them became ill, and was released in the following month; another became ill and was also released, and then the printer was let out; but Mr. Bedard was still kept confined and stoutly insisted upon the integrity of his conduct, and demanded a trial which was not granted, a course certainly not in harmony with British justice and fair play.

The general elections took place in April following, and the former members for the most part were re-elected, including Mr. Bedard, notwithstanding his continued imprisonment.

His Excellency, despite his arbitrary attitude towards the House of Assembly, evinced a readiness to promote the material development of the province, which was manifested in the construction of a wagon road on the south side of the St. Lawrence River, utilizing the troops for that purpose. This important highway is still familiarly known as Craig's road.

The new parliament, the seventh of Lower Canada, met at Quebec on 12th December, 1810, and re-elected the former Speaker. His Excellency manifested a desire for the renewal of the unpopular measure constituting a partial suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, prejudicial to the liberty of the subject. The Act was reluctantly renewed, but not without an interchange of some sarcastic correspondence.

An address was passed by the Assembly praying for the liberation of Mr. Bedard, and a committee appointed to present the same to the governor, but it appears that the too apprehensive committee would

not risk a possible snub from the haughty governor, and therefore timidly failed to wait upon him, which might otherwise have proved an agreeable surprise to them had they approached him in a confident manner.

Several acts of importance were passed this session. The erection of a parliament house was decided upon at a cost of £50,000, but the work was not proceeded with, as the funds were then required for purposes of defence in the expected war with the United States, a contingency which was not long delayed. The Alien Act, the Militia Act, and the bill for the disqualification of the judges from sitting and voting in the Assembly passed both houses and received the royal sanction. The session ended with more cordiality between the executive and the popular branch than might have been anticipated. The governor-general's prorogation speech was both lengthy and remarkable. Mr. Bedard was then liberated from his undeserved confinement. His Excellency had for some time previously been anxious for release from his uncongenial duties, and was permitted to leave Canada in June of 1811. He is said to have remarked when departing that he had experienced more deception, injustice and human imperfections in Canada than in his whole previous life. These remarks were probably intended for both opposing factions in the country. Had His Excellency been an old politician instead of a military man his surprise at the waywardness of politics would not have been so keenly felt. The poor general survived his departure from Canada only six months.

Lieutenant-General Sir James H. Craig was to all appearances an upright man, with many excellent

traits of private character. However, either his lack of statesmanship or the defects of the then governmental system, was the cause of much discord. While he managed to please the British party he unfortunately did not stand well with the French element.

It is said that Genet, an agent of Old France, had circulated a pamphlet among French-Canadians at great expense to cause dissatisfaction, and to make the people obstinate or worse. The circumstance may have contributed to the groundless suspicions which His Excellency entertained as regards the loyalty of a few of the French-Canadian leaders of the time.

The Hon. Mr. Dunn was again left temporarily in charge of the civil government, and Lieutenant-General Drummond was given charge of the military forces, until the arrival in September of Sir George Prevost, who had just been the popular lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, but now promoted to the governor-generalship of British North America with the usual headquarters at Quebec.

Government of Sir George Prevost, 1811.

Soon after His Excellency's arrival Major-General Isaac Brock was appointed president-administrator of the government of Upper Canada, instead of Lieut.-Governor Gore, who had recently retired. His Excellency made a tour of the defences just before the opening of parliament, which was assembled on the 20th February, 1812. In opening parliament he explained that although duly appointed governor-general his commission had not yet arrived; he was there-

fore administering the government under a provisional authority. He recommended an increased and unremitting care and vigilance in securing the colony from either open invasion or insidious aggression. It seems that all the governors of those times were apprehensive of "Uncle Sam's" seductive ways in still-hunting as well as of his fighting qualities in open warfare.

The Assembly responded to His Excellency with unequivocal assurances that they would give strict attention to all precautions for public safety, but could not let an opportunity pass without having a covert fling at the preceding administration. The governor in his reply deemed it inexpedient to revert to these proceedings. The Assembly were, however, bent upon reviewing the late administration of Sir J. H. Craig, and appointed a committee of inquiry, which met secretly; but its uncalled-for researches, as might have been anticipated, were never made public. The proposal of appointing an agent in Britain was again brought forward, but not determined upon.

The expediency of paying a sessional indemnity to the members was again before the House, but failed, as formerly, to come to anything. The modesty and patriotism of the majority of members of those days is quite in contrast with the more worldly-minded representatives upon this continent of the present time.

The militia of the province was being better organized, and money appropriated for drilling and training the local militia. Governor Prevost, unlike Governor Craig, pursued a policy of conciliation and

good-will towards the French-speaking people. During this period a ferment arose in the neighboring Republic over what was known as the discovery of the Henry Plot, as it was called. A man named John Henry, not succeeding in the United States to the extent of his wishes, migrated to Montreal, where he ingratiated himself with some prominent persons, by representing that there was a considerable contingent of the population in the Eastern States desiring to form a political connection with Great Britain. Henry's plausibility and feigned sincerity gained over the governor's secretary, Mr. H. W. Ryland, an irrepressible letter writer, who started him on a mission to the Eastern States to promote the object above named, which resulted in nothing; Henry, however, made a demand upon the British Government for compensation in the way of a position worth £500 per annum. The Minister would not recognize him as a British agent. Chagrined with disappointment Henry immediately made his way to the United States and sold to the Madison government for $50,000 certain correspondence. Said government was then in a grievance-hunting mood against Great Britain. The traitor then left the United States for Canada. The Congress of the United States, upon some pretext of a frivolous nature, declared war against Great Britain on the 18th June, which naturally caused some excitement. The province was, however, in some measure prepared for defence. All American citizens were notified to leave within a very few weeks, an embargo was laid upon the shipping in port, and a session of parliament called which met on the 16th July, and unanimously voted not only all the

money on hand for the defence of the country, but indemnified the governor in the issue of army bills to the extent of a million dollars. All classes flocked to the defence of the country, excepting some young men at Pointe Claire, who not having been well informed upon the state of matters, gave a little trouble, and had to be temporarily punished by fine and imprisonment, which a timely explanation would probably have avoided.

Among the regiments then raised was Col. Salaberry's famous French-Canadian Voltigeurs, who distinguished themselves under their gallant leader at Chateauguay and elsewhere. However, Lower Canada suffered very little from the war in comparison with Upper Canada, which formed the chief battle-ground during that wicked and unnatural war. The legislature of Lower Canada assembled again on the 29th December. The governor-general most heartily thanked the House for its splendid support in those trying times. He remarked that the successes against the enemy in Upper Canada were subjects of sincere congratulation, though clouded by the death in the hour of victory of the gallant and much lamented Major-General Brock, president of the government of Upper Canada, and concluded by urging the necessity of despatch in conducting the public business. The reply of the Assembly was all that could be desired, which His Excellency acknowledged in the following gracious words: "The sentiments contained in your address are worthy of the representatives of a loyal, brave and enlightened people."

Mr James Stuart, a prominent member from Montreal, who had been dismissed from the solicitor-gener-

alship by Sir J. H. Craig, took the executive officials to task during the session for their remissness in unduly delaying the publication of the laws. The question of appointing an agent to Great Britain was resumed and postponed. To help support the war the Assembly introduced a bill to tax the official salaries from five to fifteen per cent., in proportion to the amount of salary received, but the bill was thrown out by the Legislative Council. The indemnity for the issue of army bills by the government was increased to two million dollars, and other sums were voted towards the support of the war, for hospitals, for the militia and to facilitate the communication between Upper Canada and Lower Canada.

A duty of two and a half per cent. was imposed upon all merchandise, except provisions imported into the province, and an additional two and a half per cent. on all merchandise imported into the province by persons not resident six months previous to such importation; this was also for the support of the war. A vote of thanks was passed to Colonel Proctor, his officers and his men for their skill and intrepidity on the Detroit frontier, and in this connection it is regrettable to think of the inglorious ending of Proctor's subsequent military career. Mr. Lee, one of the members for Northumberland, made a motion to render the judges ineligible to sit in the Legislative Council, but the consideration of the question was postponed indefinitely.

The Assembly made another absurd attack upon the liberty of the press by ordering the arrest of their old acquaintance, Mr. Carey of the *Mercury,* for some strictures upon members, which appeared in his

paper. Mr. Carey, however, got out of the way until the session was over, and then paid his respects to the Assembly again in rather a bantering but pleasing manner.

The shipping industry continued to increase very satisfactorily.

The session now being over His Excellency left Quebec on a visit to Upper Canada, and was also much occupied with military matters during the succeeding eleven months.

Parliament met again for the despatch of general business on the 13th January, 1814. His Excellency, after congratulating parliament upon the defeat of the enemy at Chateauguay in Lower Canada by a handful of brave Canadians and also upon the brilliant victory achieved by a comparatively small corps of observation on the banks of the St. Lawrence at Crysler's Farm in Upper Canada, repeated the usual remarks as to the necessity of further vigilance in not only defending the province against the invaders, but also for its material progress, and expressed his unbounded confidence in the parliament and people of the province. The reply of the Assembly was mutually felicitous.

His Excellency supplemented the speech from the throne by a secret and confidential message to the House of Assembly, informing them of the inadequacy of the amount of the authorized army bill issue, and recommended prompt and serious consideration as to the expediency of extending the provisions of the Act. They accordingly responded by extending the issue of army bills to the large sum of six million dollars.

A bill for the disqualification of judges from sit-

ting in the Legislative Council was again introduced in the Assembly, but met its usual fate in the Upper Chamber, as did another bill to tax the salaries of the officials in aid of the war fund of the province; a bill also for the appointment of an agent in Great Britain met the same fate.

The House passed a vote of thanks to Col. de Salaberry and his little army for the distinguished services at Chateauguay, and also a similar vote to Colonel Morrison of the 89th regiment and his little corps for their signal victory at Crysler's Farm. The effect of these gallant actions undoubtedly prevented the capture of the City of Montreal by the American army.

Mr. James Stuart proceeded to investigate the rules and practices of the several courts, which it was alleged had been abused under the regime of Sir J. H. Craig, and the proceedings were followed up by the impeachment of Chief Justice Sewell of Quebec and Chief Justice Monk of Montreal. Seventeen distinct charges were formulated against Justice Sewell, who was not only chief justice of the province, but also Speaker of the Legislative Council and chairman of the Executive Council. Mr. Stuart charged him with being the instigator of all the tyranny practised by the former governor-general; that he subverted the laws of the country wherever it suited the purposes of himself and friends; that he made trouble both for the Imperial Government and for Canada, by having five years previously entered into a base and wicked conspiracy with the traitor Henry, whereby the hitherto amicable relations with the United States was greatly aggravated. Eight charges of much

milder nature were made against Chief Justice Monk of Montreal. Mr. Stuart's motion for the impeachments was seconded by Mr. L. J. Papineau, which was carried in the Assembly, and an appropriation of £2,000 was attached to the supply bill to defray Mr. Stuart's expenses in prosecuting the impeachments before the home government. The Legislative Council, however, amended the supply bill by cutting off that particular appropriation. The House of Assembly, with their Speaker, then proceeded to government house and presented the address to the governor-general, praying him to transmit the address with the articles of accusation, and also to suspend the chief justices in the meantime; but he cautiously and properly declined to suspend them upon an address from only one branch of the legislature. The House of Assembly took umbrage at His Excellency's decision and unjustly declared that he had violated their constitutional rights and privileges. Four days later, however, the House in its cooler moments, resolved that it had not in any respect altered the opinion it had entertained of the wisdom of His Excellency's personal administration, but still insisted that an impeachment of the chief justices was well founded, and would be persevered in. To repel these charges Chief Justice Sewell proceeded to England armed with addresses highly approving his conduct from both the Legislative Council and the executive, of which he was himself a member. It does not appear that the accused was at all an unworthy character, but his then legal but unwise connection with politics exposed him to suspicions of scheming and

seeming partizanship for which the defective governmental usages of the time were mostly to blame.

The Assembly again passed a bill for the appointment of an agent in Great Britain, in which the Legislative Council did not absolutely refuse to concur, but called the attention of the Assembly to some irregularity in its routine, and here the matter rested for the present.

The House drew up an address to the Prince Regent on the state of the province, which was to be presented by a gentleman to be named for that purpose. His Excellency acquiesced, but the proposal was not carried out, owing to a disagreement between the two houses. During the session an embassy of chiefs of nine different tribes of Indians, some from very distant parts, waited upon the governor-general asking for assistance and other considerations. His Excellency replied in kindly terms, promising that they would not be forgotten. He also greatly regretted the death of Chief Tecumseh, killed in battle, and loaded them with presents.

This, the last session of the seventh parliament, was prorogued on the 17th March, 1814. The Assembly were rather disappointed in the tone of the prorogation speech from the throne. A dissolution was foreshadowed with the very unusual request that the several candidates would give their constituents a true idea of the nature and the value of the constitution which they possessed, an injunction which, it may be assumed, was indifferently obeyed judging by the chronic friction which subsisted between the Assembly and the other branches of the governmental system.

Hostilities with the Americans still continued, and strong reinforcements were en route from the regular army of Great Britain. A battalion of the 8th regiment, and two hundred and twenty seamen for the lakes, marched through the woods from Fredericton, N.B., to the St. Lawrence in the month of February. The legislature of New Brunswick and the city of St. John kindly and opportunely voted £300 each to defray the expense of carrying them on sleighs as far as the nature of the woods permitted.

The miscarriage of the assault upon Plattsburg, where a combined and simultaneous attack by the land and marine forces was to have been made, resulted not only in a disastrous affair for the British arms, but also in having forever disturbed the peace of mind of the governor-general, who had the direction of the land forces. The naval commander, Sir James Yeo, in his despatches, blamed the land forces for not co-operating as agreed, and His Excellency, the commander of the land forces, on the other hand, blamed the precipitancy of the naval commander for the disaster where victory ought otherwise to have been easily assured had the combined attack been properly timed. The controversy which ensued has never yet been cleared up.

The new House of Assembly met on the 21st January, 1815. The late Speaker, Mr. Panet, having been called to the Legislative Council, Mr. L. J. Papineau was elected Speaker of the Assembly.

The Militia Act was amended so as to admit substitutes for persons who could not conveniently serve in person.

New duties upon tea, strong spirits, and on goods sold by auction were imposed.

One thousand pounds currency was appropriated for the encouragement of vaccine inoculation. Upwards of eight thousand pounds currency were appropriated for the internal communication of the province, and a further sum of twenty-five thousand pounds for the purpose of opening a canal from Montreal to Lachine. A bill was introduced to grant salaries to the speakers of the two houses, which was subsequently granted, but to the Speaker of the Assembly only, presumably as the Speaker of the Legislative Council already held offices to which salaries were attached.

A bill was again passed by the Assembly for the appointment of an agent to Great Britain, but the Legislative Council repeated its refusal to concur. The desire on the part of the Assembly for an agent in the Mother Country was owing to a natural apprehension that their motives and aspirations might be prejudiced by possible misrepresentations of the executive, who through the governors had the ear of the Imperial authorities.

The Assembly also adopted certain resolutions anent the impeachment of the chief justices in the previous session.

While these matters were engaging the attention of the legislature news of the treaty of peace with the United States was officially announced by a message from His Excellency.

The embodied militia was then disbanded and some compensation made to them for their services. A small gratuity was also provided for the widows and children of those who had been killed during the late war.

The Assembly, as a mark of respect for the character of the governor-in-chief, Sir George Prevost, in a generous mood voted £5,000 for the purchase of a service of plate, but the Legislative Council refused to concur in the proposal. It was very properly proposed to grant pecuniary compensation to ex-Speaker Panet for his long and meritorious services as Speaker, but Mr. Panet dying just about that time, a pension was granted his widow. A commendable grant of £500 was made to Surveyor-General Bauchette to assist in publishing his geographical and topographical maps of Lower and Upper Canada.

Among the bills of the session was one for the appointment of commissioners to examine the accounts of the Receiver-General, Mr. Caldwell, and for the counting of the cash in the treasury; meanwhile that officer petitioned the Assembly, complaining of the insufficiency of his salary.

The governor-general then prorogued parliament in a speech of a most pleasing character, not only to the Assembly, but also to the inhabitants generally.

After the mismanaged Plattsburgh affair the violence of the press towards His Excellency, particularly in Montreal, knew no bounds. He, however, received several flattering addresses on his departure for Britain, via St. John, N.B., which took place in April, 1815. His Excellency was anxious to meet the charges formulated by Sir James Yeo before a court-martial, which was to have taken place on the 10th January, 1816. He, however, died in London on the 5th of the same month, leaving a disconsolate family to regret his loss, rendered doubly grievous by the reflections to which his memory had been exposed, from

his not having had an opportunity of clearing up his conduct at Plattsburg. His relatives requested an investigation into his conduct after his death, but the judge advocate was of the opinion that such an inquiry could not properly be made under the circumstances. Lady Prevost, feeling greatly distressed over the injustice to her husband's memory, appealed to the Prince Regent, who was graciously pleased to express publicly the high sense he entertained of the distinguished services of Sir George Prevost, conferring at the same time, as a mark of approbation, additional armorial bearings on the escutcheon of the family. It can be said with truth that Sir George Prevost was an excellent governor-general in his civil capacity, and, furthermore, it is only just to give his memory the benefit of any doubts over the Plattsburg affair. No doubt he acted on the sane principle of not exposing his men in a hopeless cause after the too hurried and miserable fight made by the naval squadron against the better manœuvrings of the American naval commander.

Government of Lieut.-General Drummond.

Lieutenant-General Drummond, a native of Quebec City, assumed the governorship on the 5th April, 1815, as administrator-in-chief, but parliament did not meet until 26th January, 1816.

Meantime a proclamation had been published to the effect that the army bills would be paid in cash at par with interest added, which naturally created perfect satisfaction to all concerned.

In the administrator's opening speech a reference

was politely made to the clouded intellect of the sovereign, King George III., and to the happy overthrow and final exile of the arch-agitator Napoleon Bonaparte I., and the restoration of the rightful heirs, the Bourbon family, to the throne of France. The reply of the Assembly was, for some unstated cause, rather cold and somewhat guarded in tone.

The administration transmitted a message informing the House that the Imperial Government declined to interfere with the two impeached chief justices, Sewell and Monk. This communication threw the House into a ferment. The message was referred to a committee of the whole that day, and a special committee was appointed to prepare an humble representation and petition that the Commons be heard. Whereupon the administrator, somewhat capriciously, swooped down upon parliament before any measures were matured, and amid the discharge of artillery prorogued the House in a scolding speech for presuming to enter upon a discussion of the impeachment of the judges after His Royal Highness the Prince Regent had given his decision, and then declared his intention to dissolve parliament. It is said that the administrator adopted this high-handed procedure in pursuance of instructions from the British Minister to take that course if the Assembly again meddled with the judges. If so, the British minister was not much of a statesman. The Assembly, in pursuance of a resolution adopted at the last session, had just passed a bill to purchase a testimonial for presentation to Sir George Prevost, the late governor-general-in-chief, as a mark of affection and respect for his character, and in grateful recognition for the great services

which he had rendered the province. The bill, however, was again rejected by the Legislative Council.

The elections for the new Assembly took place in March, and did not result in any advantage for the executive. The conduct of members being endorsed as usual by the electors.

In the meantime the administrator received notification of the appointment of Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, late lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, as governor-in-chief, and sailed for Britain on the 21st May, leaving Major-General Wilson as temporary administrator. The new governor-in-chief arrived on the 21st July, 1816, from Halifax.

Government of Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, 1816.

One of the first acts of His Excellency was a humane one in the taking of steps for the relief of some distress caused by the failure from early frosts of the wheat crop in the lower parts of the district of Quebec.

His Excellency doubtless felt considerable anxiety over the burning question which divided the administration and the Assembly in the matter of the impeachment of the judges. After a thorough inquiry throughout the province he ascertained that a deep feeling did actually exist against the judges. Here was a quandary, the Prince Regent being determined to uphold the judges, while the inhabitants were unmistakably against them. He deemed it, therefore, inexpedient to resort to the extreme policy of dissolution as practised by his predecessor.

The new parliament was called together on the 15th

January, 1817, and Mr. L. J. Papineau was again chosen Speaker. The Assembly appointed the usual grand committee upon grievances, of agriculture, and of commerce, and also a committee of five members to keep up good correspondence between the two houses, which was reciprocated by the Legislative Council. His Excellency announced that the Prince Regent had been pleased to assent to the bill granting a salary of £1,000 a year to the Speaker of the House during the late parliament.

The House confirmed the action of the governor-general in making the advances to the distressed parishes before the meeting of parliament.

Another judge, Mr. Justice Foucher, was impeached on the motion of Mr. Cuivillier, and the charges were sustained by a special committee of the House. Mr. Stuart at the same time, in a masterly effort, strove to reopen the case against the chief justices, but found to his intense disgust that a small majority of the members had inconsistently allowed themselves to be won over by the kindly disposition of the governor in favor of a policy of delay, and of finally dropping the proceedings in the case of the judges. Mr. Stuart felt the desertion of his friends so keenly that he withdrew entirely from parliament for several years.

Comparatively liberal appropriations were voted for the improvement of internal communication, and for the purchase of library books.

The first general banking institution in Canada, the Bank of Montreal, was started this year, and the establishment of the Quebec Bank soon followed. A company was incorporated to open a navigable canal

between Chambly and St. John's; an Act was also passed to empower the appointment of commissioners for the improvement of water communication with Upper Canada. Another attempt was made during the session to secure an allowance in the way of an indemnity to the members for their attendance in parliament, but again failed.

His Excellency was too ill to go down to the Legislative Council to prorogue parliament, consequently the members of both houses waited upon him at the castle for that purpose. The legislative assiduity of the members was acknowledged by him. Ill-health constrained him to request his recall from the government of Canada, but likewise he made no secret of his dislike of the position, and of the disagreeable work expected of him.

His Excellency's administration of affairs was most successful, and on his retirement carried with him the good wishes of all classes. He was succeeded by no less a personage than the Duke of Richmond.

Government of the Duke of Richmond, 1818.

His Grace the Duke of Richmond assumed the administration of affairs on the 29th July, 1818. He was accompanied by his son-in-law, Sir Peregrine Maitland, lately appointed lieut.-governor of Upper Canada.

The legislature met on the 12th January, 1819, but in the meantime intelligence of the death of the Queen on the 16th November previous having arrived, His Grace made the somewhat unreasonable request for the comparatively long adjournment of the House for a space of ten days out of respect for the memory

of the deceased Queen. At the end of ten days His Grace accordingly delivered the speech from the throne, couched in appropriate and comprehensive language, to which the Assembly replied in a most complimentary address.

The Assembly proceeded very properly to vote the supplies, item by item, in the manner of the present time, after which the supply bill was sent to the Legislative Council for concurrence, where it was roughly received and immediately rejected, a most unwise and improper proceeding on the part of the council, fraught, as might have been expected, with much subsequent harm.

Judge Pierre Bedard was impeached by Mr. C. R. Ogden, member for Three Rivers. It has been remarked on good authority that vices in the judicature had been a subject of complaint for a long time, yet no redress had ever been allowed. His Grace however now recommended that the matter should be looked into, but there appeared to be no proper and independent tribunal in the province as yet to deal with such very important questions. A committee of five members was named to prepare a statement of receipts and expenditures of the province from the date of the constitution of 1791 down to the present time, 1819.

His Grace very properly urged that the Eastern townships were being put to very great inconvenience for want of local jurisdiction, etc., but the Assembly, as usual, were very tardy in giving attention to the wants of that newly settled and valuable portion of the province. The cost of civil government having materially increased under the present administration naturally gave rise to some criticism in the House.

The Assembly having despatched all the business they intended to transact during the session, His Grace prorogued the session accordingly on the 24th April, 1819, with expressions of dissatisfaction as regards the House of Assembly, on a par with that of former governor Sir J. H. Craig, which produced a like effect in arousing resentment and bad blood.

His Grace made a tour of inspection of Upper Canada, contemplating, it is said, important improvements to the internal communication between the two provinces, and also of the military defences of the same, and had nearly completed his tour when he took ill and died after a few hours of excruciating suffering, it is alleged from hydrophobia caused by a bite upon his hand from a pet fox. The government then devolved upon Mr. Monk, the senior member of the Executive Council, who issued a proclamation, notifying his assumption of the government. He was, however, shortly after superseded by Sir Peregrine Maitland, the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, until the arrival of the Earl of Dalhousie, promoted from the lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia.

Meanwhile Sir Peregrine Maitland arrived with his family at Quebec on July 7th, 1820, but immediately departed for Upper Canada again to meet the legislature of that province, which was summoned for the 21st of the same month, leaving Mr. Monk in charge of the affairs of Lower Canada. Lord Dalhousie, previous to his knowledge of the appointment of Sir Peregrine Maitland, had by proclamation appointed the 20th February for the assembling of parliament. This arrangement was changed after the arrival of the administrator-in-chief, and on the day of

Lieut.-Governor Maitland's departure for Upper Canada, 9th February, 1820, Mr. Monk issued a proclamation dissolving parliament, and made the writs returnable on the 10th April ensuing, excepting that for Gaspe, which was made returnable on 1st June. This unexpected and impolitic proceeding was, of course, annoying to the members of the Assembly, and the result at the polls was, as usual, unfavorable to the administration.

Sir Peregrine Maitland leaving after a short session, prorogued the parliament of Upper Canada, returned to Quebec on the 17th March, 1820, and relieved Mr. Monk of the government. The new parliament was summoned to meet on the 11th of April, the day after the writs were all returnable, excepting in the case of Gaspe. When the legislature met it re-elected Mr. Papineau as Speaker, but as the House was not complete, owing to the pending election in Gaspe, the House could not proceed to business, and as twelve months from the end of the previous session would elapse before the Gaspe election could take place, the lieutenant-governor was, therefore, in an awkward dilemma. The members of the Assembly having been irritated by so many capricious dissolutions, it is little wonder that they were ready to place the lieut.-governor in a corner. In this state of self-alleged incompetency the Assembly remained inactive until the 24th of the month, when official news arrived of the death of His Majesty George III., which according to the constitutional usages of the times (since annulled) dissolved the House. George IV. was proclaimed king with elaborate ceremonies and formalities.

Government of the Earl of Dalhousie, 1820.

The Earl of Dalhousie now relieved Sir Peregrine Maitland of the government of Lower Canada on the 18th June, 1820.

The general election in consequence of the demise of the Crown took place during June and July. Mr. Papineau delivered some very able, statesmanlike and patriotic speeches during the campaign, which called forth the admiration of all classes of the people. Mr. Papineau at that period was without a peer in Canada, both as regards ability and influence. As might have been expected the result of the elections was not any more favorable to the executive than the previous ones. Parliament was assembled on the 14th December, 1820, and Mr. Papineau was again elected Speaker.

The governor, in his speech, after paying tribute to the memory of the late king, and in affectionate terms also to his deceased predecessor, the Duke of Richmond, called the attention of the Assembly to the public accounts, and said he would lay before them the receipts and expenditures of the past six years, by which they could strike an average which would show that the annual revenue was not equal to the annual permanent fixed charges upon the provincial list by about £22,000, and that he had it in command from His Majesty to state that he relied upon the Assembly to make a proper and permanent provision to supply the deficiency. In this connection he would recommend an enactment of permanent revenue laws for at least such a period as would give stability to all commercial interests. He recom-

mended the renewal and improvement of any expiring militia laws which had been found so very satisfactory in the late war, and also a scheme for opening up and settling the waste lands of the province. He also called the attention of the Assembly to the expediency of establishing courts of law in the province upon the lines proposed by the late Duke of Richmond at a former session, and concluded with the observation that he had made himself somewhat acquainted with the country, and had no sectional partialities; his only object was to serve the best interests of the country.

The Assembly, in reply, assured His Excellency that they would endeavor to place the finances on a proper footing, while they at the same time felt, and with justice, that some salaries might be abolished, particularly for non-resident officials. A lieutenant-governor for Lower Canada, living in England, who never even visited Canada, was drawing £1,500 per annum; a lieutenant-governor of Gaspe (a sinecure), costing £300 per annum; an absentee secretary of the province, costing £400; a quasi agent of the province in London, costing £200 per annum, but not appointed by the Canadian government. And as to the customs tariff it could not be adjusted permanently, but that they would adopt every means in their power to inspire confidence into all His Majesty's subjects, and especially of the mercantile classes.

The Assembly, judged by the usages of to-day, appears to have had rather unconstitutional ideas about the introduction of a supply bill, as the recommendation for expenditure should first be submitted to the governor. The governor and Legislative

Council were also out of order in objecting to the Assembly's mode of passing the supply bill item by item. However, the Assembly at this session, in the hope of reconciling the Legislative Council, changed the mode of voting of the last session, and now voted the money by chapters, or clauses, including the pension list. This style of supply bill gave offence to the governor, and the Assembly were accused of seeking their own aggrandisement rather than the stability of the government. The Legislative Council accordingly threw out the bill—a very arbitrary and indiscreet proceeding on their part, well calculated to foster the future troubles which actually followed.

As to the consideration of that part of His Excellency's speech with reference to the settlement of the Crown lands, a special committee was appointed, and conducted with great ability by its chairman, Mr. Andrew Stuart, member for Upper Town, Quebec. The committee found that enormous abuses had prevailed by the improvident and prodigal grants of Crown lands to favorites in the province. A large mass of conclusive evidence was compiled and recorded in the journals of the Assembly.

Some uneasiness was felt by the public over the placing of all the funds of the province in the hands of a gentleman, Mr. Caldwell, receiver-general, who was actively and extensively engaged in the then precarious business of the lumber trade.

A bill to establish a tribunal of impeachment, to be styled the High Court of parliament, was introduced in the Assembly. It was provided in the bill that joint action of the two houses would be requisite to give effect to the proposal. But as the Legislative

Council was chiefly comprised of paid officials and irresponsibles, however respectable they may have been in private life, the bill was not, therefore, relished by that body, and it had to be withdrawn.

Another bill for the appointment of an agent in Great Britain shared the same fate in the Legislative Council as the former proposed bills for the same object.

Reference was made to the late Duke of Richmond's speech, which upheld the Legislative Council in rejecting the supply bill of the previous session, and upon the motion of Mr. Neilson, member for Quebec County, it was declared by an almost unanimous vote that the House had kept within its rights, the late Duke's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, whose course of action it was alleged was not conducive to the peace, welfare and good government of this province.

The Assembly found fault with a judge holding the two positions of judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court and judge of the King's Bench, and the taking of fees from suitors in the Vice-Admiralty Court besides the regular salary. Also of a judge holding both the positions of judge of the King's Bench and French translator; and also of a judge of the King's Bench holding the position of auditor of public accounts as well.

These were some of the public grievances laid before His Excellency.

The province took the construction of the Lachine Canal out of the hands of an inactive company on the 7th July, and proceeded with the work enthusiastically as a government undertaking. The step was a most popular one.

Amid other transactions some of the members repeated the effort, but unsuccessfully, to obtain a sessional indemnity, the withholding of which must have entailed a serious sacrifice and hardship to many of the members.

The House was prorogued on the 17th March, 1821. His Excellency giving rather a qualified expression as to his approbation of the manner in which the session had been conducted.

Mr. Papineau, Speaker of the Assembly, had been called to a seat in the Executive Council during the session, as had been hinted at some time previously by His Excellency Governor Sherbrooke. Mr. Hale, a member of the Legislative Council, and Colonel Ready, civil secretary of the governor-in-chief, were also called to the Executive Council. The admission of the latter to the Executive Council seemed to be rather out of place; under the circumstances his claims of eligibility for the position were certainly not apparent.

The population of the province had nearly doubled in the last twenty years, and the country was prosperous in material welfare, having emerged from the war with honor, and resources unimpaired. The great increase of crime consequent upon immigration from abroad and general increase of population was a source of regret. The growth of party spirit and race prejudice had also unfortunately increased, for which the minority, particularly of the executive and Legislative Council, were in the first place greatly to blame by resorting to frequent dissolutions of parliament, and for ignoring the majority, who in turn naturally became quite refractory and wrong-headed.

Governor Dalhousie again opened parliament on the 11th December, 1821, and made the financial affairs of the province the chief topic in his speech, appealing to the Assembly to consider the civil list appropriations as standing and fixed charges, and requested the passing of a bill affirming that principle on the ground of a special or old class of Imperial revenues which had been in vogue prior to the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791. It was at the same time gently hinted that unless this was done no other bill would receive the royal assent. The Assembly did not refuse point blank to act upon the suggestion of His Excellency, but they however politely evaded the question by indefinite delays.

His Excellency had been obliged more than once to draw money from the receiver-general on his own responsibility to meet urgent payments. The Assembly endeavored to thwart this by threatening the receiver-general that he would be held responsible for any monies paid out which was not authorized by a supply bill. Some resolutions breathing loyal and good intentions were passed by a substantial majority for the purpose of glossing and smoothing over the persistent determination of having their own way about the finances. His Excellency was loth to continue paying out of the ordinary revenues upon his own responsibility. He, therefore, was wont to draw upon a fund which was derived from some sources belonging to the Imperial Government, which had been surrendered by the King of France at the time of conquest. The Assembly essayed to appoint Mr. Marryatt, a member of the British House of Commons, as their agent, but the Legislative Council not

concurring, Mr. Marryatt would not accept the appointment under those circumstances. A storm arose in the Assembly over an unfair and bitter attack made upon it by Mr. Richardson, a member of the Legislative Council, which the Assembly resented with great warmth, demanding the expulsion of Mr. Richardson. It should be stated here that there was a small minority in the Legislative Council who sympathized with the majority in the Assembly in these disputes. A misunderstanding had arisen with Upper Canada over the apportionment of the customs revenues, which resulted in a disagreement. The treaty provided that one-fifth of the revenue, after deducting expenses, was to go to Upper Canada. A greater proportion was now claimed by that province, besides arrears amounting to £3,000, which the commissioners from Lower Canada refused to pay. The legislature of Upper Canada appealed to the Imperial government and appointed an agent to proceed to Great Britain to personally advocate the claim. The result of all these disputes and difficulties was a determination to arrange a legislative union between the two provinces, and a bill for that purpose was accordingly introduced in the British House of Commons providing an equal representation in each province, the members to have a property qualification. Four members of the Executive Council were to have seats in the Assembly, and the parliaments were to last five years. All written proceedings were to be in the English language, and after fifteen years all debates were to be in the English language. The Roman Catholic religion was to be respected, subject to the King's supremacy. The

proposal raised a tremendous furore in Lower Canada, which did not subside for a considerable time. Messrs. Neilson and Papineau were delegated to Great Britain by the majority in the Assembly to oppose the measure, while Mr. James Stuart was sent by the minority to support it. The bill was warmly opposed in the British House of Commons upon the grounds of uncalled-for interference with both provinces, and consequently dwindled down to what was afterwards known as the Canada Trades Act. By it every essential claim of Upper Canada was awarded, and also secured against the future caprice of the jarring legislation of Lower Canada in the matter of the customs tariff, which could not now be changed without the consent of Upper Canada. The Trades Act also introduced the thin edge of the wedge for the future abolition of the seigniorial tenure, a relic of the old time French regime.

A responsible executive comprised of strong, patriotic and conciliatory statesmen was now sorely needed at the helm of state to calm the prejudices and passions which had gradually risen, primarily through the jealousies and thirst for power which existed between the Executive and Legislative Councils on the one side, and House of Assembly on the other side. The functions of each body were either not properly defined or otherwise not fully understood by either contending parties. The system was certainly not adapted for popular government as we have it to-day.

The House met on the 10th January, 1823. Mr. Papineau, the Speaker, being in Great Britain opposing the proposed Legislative Union Act between

Lower and Upper Canada, it was therefore incumbent upon the House to elect a new Speaker. Mr. Vallieres, member for Upper Town, Quebec, although a junior member, proved to be the winning dark horse in the contest for the speakership. Messrs. Viger and Bourdages, experienced and able members, were candidates, but neither of them could secure the necessary votes for election to the speakership. His Excellency confirmed the choice of Speaker, and informed the House of the passing of the Canada Trades Act by the Imperial parliament, which regulated the trade of Canada with the United States, and also the intercourse between Lower and Upper Canada. The question of the proposed larger scheme of union between the two provinces was thoroughly debated, and then negatived in both the Lords and Commons.

The Assembly at length essayed to do some justice to the Eastern Townships, and erected the judicial district of St. Francis with a resident judge. The Assembly also proposed to give the Eastern Townships representation in the Assembly by increasing the total number of representatives in the House, but the proposal on such conditions was rejected by the Legislative Council, that body shrewdly suspecting that the majority of the Assembly were not actuated solely by motives of justice towards the Eastern Townships.

The mode of voting the supplies again caused friction between the two houses, but the Legislative Council however yielded certain points under protest rather than cause the distress and embarrassment which the rejection of the bill would entail. But the

seeming complacence of the Legislative Council was of but short duration; it soon assumed its former antagonistic stand on some financial questions.

The receiver-general, Mr. Caldwell, an appointee of the Imperial government, was in default for the very large sum of £100,000, which afforded the Assembly a reasonable ground for dissatisfaction, which they were not slow to manifest. The government subsequently recovered about two-fifths of the amount by taking over Mr. Caldwell's seigniory of Lauzon.

The Assembly was asked to deal with an apparently just claim of Upper Canada, under the provisions of the Canada Trades Act, which they promised to take into consideration, but finally laid the question over without alleging a sufficient reason for the delay. Several unusual appropriations were made during the session, comprising a grant of £800 to the Montreal General Hospital, and £2,000 to the ladies of the Hotel Dieu, Quebec, to aid in certain improvements of the hospital, and also £2,000 to encourage agriculture.

The session closed very harmoniously on the 22nd March, 1823. His Excellency sailed for Halifax in June on a visit to Nova Scotia, where he was received with great demonstrations of respect by the inhabitants, he having been at one time a most popular lieutenant-governor of that province. He returned to Quebec on the King's birthday, 12th August, in time to review the troops in the garrison, and to take part generally in the celebrations.

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Neilson, one of the ablest men of his day, had been the recognized official organ of the province, but now the governor probably took the impolitic step of dropping Mr. Neilson and his paper and importing from New York a Mr. Fisher to take charge of a new government organ to be established and supported by the government, thus arraying a powerful man against himself in the person of Mr. Neilson.

The legislature met again on the 25th November, 1823, being the last session of that parliament. The governor informed the House that it was painful to meet the House each succeeding year with statements of difficulties in financial affairs, but as they still existed it was incumbent on him to bring them forward in the fullest detail, and that it was for that especial purpose that he had summoned parliament so early. His speech otherwise was short and conciliatory.

An attempt was made by the House to appropriate a sum equal to the amount formerly proposed (£5,000) for the purchase of plate for Sir George Prevost, now deceased; but now it was proposed to expend that sum in the erection of an equestrian statue to his memory in a proper situation; but the matter fell through.

The smuggling of tea from the United States had been going on for several years, as no direct importing facilities from China and India had yet been established. The attention of the home government being called to the matter ships soon commenced to bring a full supply of tea direct from Canton to Quebec.

A vote of thanks was passed to Sir James McIntosh of the Imperial parliament for his powerful aid in causing the proposed Union Act to be abandoned.

The Canada Trades Act was criticised adversely, but nothing resulted from the discussion further than a trial of debating strength *pro* and *con* between the late and the present Speaker.

The Assembly sat upwards of two and a half months before the estimates were prepared, which was partly due to the remissness or misunderstanding of some of the officers whose duty it was to prepare the necessary papers. When the items of appropriation were finally classified and prepared some severe strictures were passed upon the executive for alleged prodigality and illegal use of the public money, and the salaries of every official from His Excellency downward were ruthlessly cut down by twenty-five per cent. in a detailed supply bill sent up to the Legislative Council for concurrence, but which it will be anticipated was promptly thrown out by that body at its first reading. The Legislative Council at the same time passed several resolutions on the financial subject, addressing His Majesty with an entreaty that he will take into his royal consideration the evils which must inevitably ensue from the existing state of matters, to the end that legislative provision be made to remedy the evils and to adopt such other means as he should see fit to put an end to the recurring conflicts between the two different branches of parliament. It may be here remarked that the colonial minister, Earl Bathurst, invariably sided with the Legislative and Executive Councils, which was a source of great irritation to the Assembly.

The debates in the Assembly on the civil expenditures were most acrimonious. The Speaker, Mr. Papineau, when out of the chair, set the worst example of any member of the House, for which it is said His Excellency called that gentleman to account privately, and made him apologize.

Cognizance was taken of a message of the President of the United States to Congress claiming free navigation of the St. Lawrence from the territory bordering upon it to the sea. The House addressed His Excellency upon the subject, deprecating such a concession on the part of the British Government. The Legislative Council concurred in the address, and also regretted the award under the late Treaty of Ghent, whereby Barnhart Island, above Cornwall, in Upper Canada, was ceded to the United States, securing to that country the easiest channel in the Long Sault rapids, and requested that reciprocal rights with the United States might now be obtained for the navigation of the several internal channels of the St. Lawrence. The Legislative Council asked the concurrence of the Assembly in the foregoing, which could do no harm, but the Assembly declined to express an opinion, some of its members averring that the Legislative Council were needlessly alarmed over the matter.

His Excellency laid before the Assembly certain resolutions of the Upper Canada parliament relating to losses sustained by the inhabitants of that province during the war of 1812-14, from pillage of their property and general devastation by the enemy. The British government had consented that a loan of £100,000 should be effected, and for which it would

guarantee half the annual interest, £2,500 per annum, the province providing for the remainder. This Upper Canada of itself could not effect, and asked Lower Canada to impose new duties at Quebec on wines and sugar, and an *ad valorem* duty on merchandise to aid in meeting the interest, stating that although a separate colony yet it was distinctly identified with Upper Canada in the issue of the late contest with the United States of America, and was in a great measure preserved from the dangers and devastations of the war by the successful resistance made to the enemy in Upper Canada, and therefore, appealed to the sympathy and justice of Lower Canada.

In answer to this application it was resolved by the Assembly that both provinces had suffered and employed all their resources for the defence of the country; that it sympathized with the people of Upper Canada in their sufferings from the ravages of the war. They regretted, however, that the very unfavorable state of the commerce of the province renders impossible for the present the imposition of new taxes.

While it is true that Lower Canada taxed herself heavily for war purposes it must also be remarked that she apparently never displayed much generosity towards her young sister province.

The Assembly addressed His Majesty in favor of allowing the Presbyterians and other Protestants to participate in the land endowments, which were now monopolized by the Church of England, and which they believed was not so intended by the Constitutional Act of 1791. This righteous address gave

great offence to the Anglican community, who were wont in the early days to ignore all other Protestant denominations.

The governor-general sent down a message to the Assembly informing them that the arbitration upon the financial affairs between the two provinces had awarded Upper Canada £12,220 17s. 6d., and requested that provision be made for its payment.

The Assembly replied that the executive ought to have paid the claim out of the funds which were paid prematurely for salaries.

The formation of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec took place this year, of which body His Excellency was an enthusiastic member. The purposes of the society were for investigation on points of history immediately connected with the Canadas, and to discover and rescue from the unsparing hand of time the records which yet remain of the earliest history of Canada.

The governor-general prorogued the legislature on 9th March, 1824, in a speech which clearly pointed out the difficulties caused by one branch of the legislature claiming the unlimited right to appropriate the whole revenue of the province according to its pleasure, including not only the part of it heretofore granted to His Majesty, and which is allotted by Act of the provincial parliament for its specific purposes and subject to distribution as the king may see fit, but even that portion also of the revenue which was raised by authority of the Imperial parliament to defray the expenses of the administration of justice, and of His Majesty's civil government in the province, and directed by an Act passed in the Imperial parliament

long before the establishment of the present constitution of Lower Canada, to be applied under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's treasury. The claim set up by the Assembly for the right to control the above fund in common with all other revenues was stoutly denied by the other two branches of the provincial parliament, this divergence of opinion caused incalculable mischief to the province by leaving it struggling under difficulties through the maintenance of a double-headed treasury. The country, despite these unseemly parliamentary conflicts, was progressing very materially, but the progress would have been very much greater had harmony and united action prevailed, and also if the improvements had been carried out which His Excellency suggested.

Unfortunately the Assembly and the governor-general finally parted without having made the least progress during the four years in adjusting the difficulties which beset the administration of the affairs of the province; in fact, the Assembly and His Excellency seemed to be drifting further apart. His Excellency, however, was not capricious like several of his predecessors in the matter of inflicting the dissolution penalty upon the members of the Assembly.

Lord Dalhousie and family sailed for Britain on the 6th June. Previous to his embarkation he was the recipient of many complimentary addresses. The government during his absence devolved upon the lieutenant-governor, Sir Francis N. Burton, in 1824.

The general elections took place in July, and although there were some changes the representation was rather more anti-ministerial than ever. The

House met on the 8th January, 1825, and again elected Mr. Papineau as Speaker. The lieutenant-governor's speech was very conciliatory, characterized in some quarters as fulsome. It, however, had a good effect, and a better feeling was created than had existed during the previous parliament.

The attorney-general, Mr. Uniacke, member for William Henry (now Sorel), was persuaded to accept a judgeship to make room for Mr. James Stuart, who stepped into Mr. Uniacke's place both as attorney-general and member for the latter's late constituency.

The Assembly moved for the institution of a tribunal for the impeachment of derelict public functionaries, and proposed that the Legislative Council do constitute the proposed tribunal, coupled with the condition rendering judges ineligible for seats in either the Executive or Legislative Council; nothing very conclusive was, however, reached on the subject. Several addresses to the lieutenant-governor for copies of Imperial instructions were voted, but he could not respond, as the only document of this kind in his possession was of a private nature. The supply bill for the session was a sort of a compromise, and received the sanction of a majority of the Legislative Council, and likewise of the executive, who it is supposed were rather outwitted by the Assembly on this occasion. The colonial minister expressed his serious dissatisfaction with the form of the supply bill, and forbade all arrangements that had any tendency to compromise the revenue known by name of the permanent revenue.

An address was voted to His Majesty, praying that he would be pleased to order that the estates of the

late order of Jesuits be applied, according to their original intention, for the instruction of the youth of the country, and that they should be placed at the disposal of the legislature of the province for that purpose.

The sum of £1,500 was appropriated as a subsidy for the encouragement of a steamship service between Quebec and Halifax, which was supplemented by a vote of £750 in the legislature of Nova Scotia for the same purpose, but which unfortunately did not result in a permanent success.

A Census Enumeration Act was now passed for the first time under the present constitution. The session was then prorogued in the most harmonious mood, and it was hoped that the difficulties over the mode of dealing with the finances, if not set entirely at rest, would now be easily adjusted in the future; but it turned out differently, however.

The administration of Lieut.-Governor Burton terminated on the return of Lord Dalhousie, the governor-in-chief, on 16th September, 1825. The lieutenant-governor then sailed for Great Britain, bearing with him the good-will of the people of the province.

On the 7th October occurred the great bush fire of Miramichi in New Brunswick, the most disastrous fire of the kind on record. Liberal subscriptions were made for the relief of the stricken districts. His Excellency advanced from the treasury, on his own responsibility, £2,243. This timely grant was cordially and unanimously approved by a vote of the Assembly. A ship was despatched with £6,000 worth of clothing and provisions from the military stores for the relief of the distressed.

The death of Bishop Mountain, the first Protestant bishop in Canada, took place this year, and the death also of the Roman Catholic bishop, Mr. Plesses, in the same year. Both were revered and eminent prelates, and were also members of the Legislative Council. His Excellency with his staff very thoughtfully attended both funerals. The Roman Catholic clergy sent an address to His Excellency thanking him for this mark of respect to the memory of their beloved bishop. The latter deserved well of the English-speaking subjects for his wise and patriotic counsels to his compatriots, which had an excellent effect throughout his diocese.

The discriminating fees collected by the customs officers from the merchants in addition to the regular duties, which had formed a long-standing grievance to the trade, were now very justly abolished.

His Excellency opened the legislature on the 21st of January, 1826, in a very able and comprehensive speech, giving many valuable suggestions as to needed public improvements and useful legislation, but the old bone of contention, the supply bill controversy, loomed up again in the tenor of his speech.

The reply of the Assembly in answer to the speech was as favorable as could be desired, and on its presentation His Excellency said that it was highly gratifying to find that their sentiments so fully coincided with his own and he anticipated the happiest results from "our mutual labors for the public good." Never, it is said, could he have been more in error in his anticipations.

Shortly after the opening of parliament His Excellency informed the Assembly by message that the Im-

perial government would approve of the appointment of judges in the province upon the same footing as the British judges, provided the legislature should make provision for their retirement according to the scale adopted in the Mother Country. An address of thanks was voted to the governor for the above information, but no further action seems to have been taken.

To the previous application for Imperial aid to open up a highway between Lower Canada and New Brunswick the reply from the home government was that they would loan money for that or any similar purpose at a rate of three per cent., if a sinking fund were provided for the partial liquidation of the loan, The apparently advantageous offer of the Imperial government does not appear to have been accepted.

It was now somewhat indirectly intimated that the colonial minister disapproved of the acceptance of the supply bill of 1825 by the acting governor, Sir Francis N. Burton, in the modified form; but he was not disposed, however, to make any trouble over it on this occasion, but forbade a repetition of the practice in future. The Assembly, however, persisted in their former course and sent up the supply bill in the Assembly's usual form, which was amended by the Legislative Council, and which of course secured its quietus for the time being.

The ministerial party in the Assembly had meantime become very feeble. Mr. Attorney-General Stuart by taking office lost nearly all his influence with the members. Mr. Neilson was for the time being in the ascendant and constituted the real popular leader; he was not, however, friendly disposed

towards His Excellency, particularly over the official *Gazette* transaction previously referred to.

A complimentary address was voted by the Assembly to Sir Francis N. Burton, the previous acting governor, which was an act of doubtful propriety and policy, as it might be construed into the making of an invidious comparison between His Excellency and the acting predecessor, Sir F. N. Burton.

A resolution was adopted with reference to the seigniorial tenure, the effect of which, if carried out, would strip from the Canada Trades Act all the intended advantages of that necessary measure.

A judicature bill and another relating to the province were passed, but sent rather late to the Legislative Council. The former was amended and postponed, and the latter bill rejected.

Thirty-nine bills were passed, six of which were reserved by His Excellency for the time being; five of the bills were, however, subsequently assented to by His Majesty in Council.

The result of the census taking showed the very considerable population of 423,630 souls.

All business being at an end for the want of a quorum, prorogation took place. His Excellency stated that the Assembly, notwithstanding its early assurance, had disappointed him in the most important subjects which he had presented for their consideration.

Parliament met again on the 23rd January, 1827. The governor-in-chief adverted to the depression in the British manufacturing districts, and also to the universal drought and bush fires of the last summer; but he was glad, however, although the season did not

prove favorable to grain, yet there was an abundance of the necessaries of life. He regretted the undue increase of crime, which was attributable chiefly to the rapid increase of population, and recommended a more extensive and active system of police. He assured them of his best and unwearied exertions for the advantage of the province, and gave the usual promise that a statement of the revenue and expenditure account for the past year would be laid before them, also the estimates of the supplies required to be voted to the public service.

The Assembly, in reply, thanked His Excellency for his suggestions and promises, declaring at the same time their anxious desire to co-operate with him in all measures calculated to promote the public interests.

The Assembly then appointed a committee of five members to keep up a good correspondence between the two houses, to which the Legislative Council mutually responded by appointing a committee of three members for a like purpose.

His Excellency on the 31st January informed the Assembly that His Majesty's government had disapproved of the form of supply bill which had been accepted by Sir Francis N. Burton while acting as governor, but as the same Sir Francis N. Burton was not in possession of instruction on that particular question he stood entirely acquitted of blame. His Excellency on the same day also informed the Assembly that the lords of the treasury did not consider that the Imperial treasury could be held responsible for the sums due by the receiver-general.

A few days after the above communication an address was presented to His Excellency asking for

copies of the despatches, which were politely refused, and the reason given was that it was inexpedient to comply under existing circumstances.

The public accounts and estimates were laid before the Assembly on the 6th February. The form of estimates was slightly different from that ordinarily made, but still in a form to displease the Assembly. A committee of seven members, comprising five opposition and only two government members, was appointed to report upon the estimates. The result of such deliberations can therefore easily be anticipated. In the meantime His Excellency sent down several messages to furnish important work for the Assembly, all of which were referred to the same committee.

The Assembly inquired of His Excellency as to His Majesty's reply about the Jesuits' Estates with a view to applying the revenue thereof for education in the province, the address upon the same subject two years ago not having been yet answered.

His Excellency replied that he had not yet received any communication on the subject; but at any rate he had no permission to communicate these despatches to the legislature.

In the matter of the estimates the Assembly on the 6th March finally decided to adhere to the stand which it had previously taken as recorded on the journals, thus bringing matters to the verge of a serious crisis.

His Excellency prorogued the House on the following day, after assenting to twenty-one bills, none of which were of great importance. One bill was to remove all doubts as to the legality of marriage and

registration by Presbyterian ministers, which had been questioned in some quarters.

His Excellency, in relieving the Assembly of its duties, administered some very plain talk to the members over their remissness and perverseness. He charged them not only with obstruction and neglect, but also with a violation of the rules and forms of parliament. His lecture of the Assembly elicited the presentation to His Excellency of addresses of sympathy and approval from many parts of the province. On the other hand many of the extreme members and their leading friends represented His Excellency to the habitants as the most odious and oppressive of tyrants; that he plundered the treasury for himself and his satellites; that he hated their language, and that he was trying to enslave them. The habitants for the most part were only too credulous, and much harm was done in arousing prejudices. After the prorogation it is alleged that Messrs. Papineau, Heney, Leslie, Valois, Perrault, Cuivillier, Raymond and Quesnel issued a public manifesto on public matters, attacking His Excellency personally. Mr. Papineau, in particular, was charged with haranguing his constituents with such a disrespectful tirade towards His Excellency that it was thought next to impossible that the affront would be overlooked by him, and meanwhile some militia officers were dismissed for publicly sympathizing with the abuse of His Excellency. Some magistrates shared a similar fate for the same cause. The militia of the City of Quebec was hitherto comprised of two French and one English-speaking battalion. His Excellency now

ordered these to be fused, and no distinction of language or religion to be considered in the make up of the militia in future.

Parliament was prematurely dissolved in July, 1827, it is said in pursuance of instructions from the Imperial government. The result at the polls was not any more favorable to the executive than in the previous elections.

His Excellency from his first arrival in the country had conceived the happy idea of the erection of a suitable monument in Quebec to the memory of both Wolfe and Montcalm by subscription. The proposal was duly carried out with much enthusiasm by the citizens and military forces.

The new parliament, the thirteenth of Lower Canada, was summoned on 20th of November, 1827, and Mr. Papineau was again elected Speaker of the Assembly, but His Excellency inadvisedly refused to accept the choice of the House, thus causing great excitement throughout the province. Three days later His Excellency prorogued parliament by proclamation, and the members returned home, but little satisfied with the meeting. The acrimonious discussions in the press at this time produced a crop of libel suits.

The construction of the Rideau Canal at the expense of the Imperial government was commenced this year—it is said at the suggestion of His Excellency, who laid the foundation stone of the lower lock. A Crown Lands Department was established this year with Mr. Felton, a member of the Legislative Council, as commissioner. The towns or cities of Quebec and

Montreal having hitherto been governed by magistrates were now applying for incorporation to enable them to provide for their own municipal government.

The British judges announced that the Presbyterian Church, under the constitution, was entitled to a share in the benefit of the Clergy Reserves, which had been denied them by the Church of England.

In the meantime Messrs. Viger, Neilson and Cuivillier were delegated to Great Britain with a petition, signed by seven or eight thousand of the inhabitants of the province asking the interposition of the home government to relieve the people of the province from the many abuses, tyranny and glaring injustices which were being inflicted by the governor and his executive upon the people, all of which was set forth at great length in the strong wording of the petition. Meantime, before the bearers of the petition had reached the Mother Country, Lord Dalhousie received notice that he was to succeed Lord Combermere as commander of the forces in India.

The unsettled and complicated state of affairs in Canada, and the petitions received, determined the home government to submit the whole to parliament. Accordingly, Mr. Huskison, on the 2nd May, 1828, moved in the House of Commons for a select committee of twenty-one members to be appointed for inquiry into the state of the civil government of Canada, and to report their observations and opinions thereupon to the House. In his motion Mr. Huskison deprecated the pretensions of the Lower Canada Assembly to take the whole management of the monies into its own hands, a proceeding, he said, founded upon neither law nor practice, and which had provoked

the controversy between the executive and legislative body of Canada. The consequence of the agitation of such a question as this, in which both parties have stood upon their extreme rights, has been most unfortunate, and such as all who look dispassionately at the subject could not but deeply regret. One of the unfortunate consequences had been that the representative of the king has found himself under the necessity of appropriating money for the necessary service of the colony without the sanction of the colonial legislature. He somewhat belittled the huge petitions with so large a proportion of the names merely signed by marks, which he thought clear proof that Lower Canada had not yet been governed by the best possible legislature.

The select committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the state of the civil government of Canada, also the several petitions from Lower Canada *pro* and *con,* respecting its administration, after very painstaking inquiry and deliberations were able to submit a very comprehensive report on 22nd July, 1828. The substance of it is as follows:

"On the question of money your committee must conclude, from the expressed opinion of the law officers of the Crown, that the legal right of appropriating the revenues arising from the Act of 1774 is vested in the Crown. They are, however, prepared to say that the real interests of the province would be best promoted by placing the receipts and expenditures of the whole public revenues under the superintendence and control of the House of Assembly. At the same time, while making such a concession on the part of the Crown, the salaries of the governors, members of

the Executive Council and judges be made permanent and not subject to discussion in the Assembly at each session; but it is not, in the opinion of your committee, necessary to include so large a number on the permanent list as has been the custom. Your committee deprecates the conduct of the executive in the past in having for a series of years, in a British colony, appropriated as much as £140,000 annually, independent of the people's representatives without making communication or reference to the British parliament on the subject.

"As regards the defalcation of the receiver-general your committee finds that he was improperly continued in office for a considerable period after he was known to be in default; it is recommended that sufficient security be hereafter taken from such officials, with a regular audit, and also the same rule to apply to the sheriffs, some of whom it was found have also been in default. They also find that the original arrangement of the electoral districts in Lower Canada was not properly based under the government of Sir Alured Clarke. That of Upper Canada, which was founded on a compound basis of territory and population, is a much better system, which it would be well for Lower Canada to copy. Your committee strongly recommend that the Legislative Council should be composed entirely of members of more independent character; many of the present members in both provinces are holding offices at the pleasure of the Crown; also that the judges should refrain from sitting in the Legislative Council, unless it be perhaps the chief justice, whose presence on particular occasions might be necessary. The large grants of land

to individuals is disapproved of, also the land reservation for the support of the clergy cannot be commended. However, the opinion of your committee is that the pecuniary benefit derived from these reserves should be conferred upon all Protestant denominations. A better form of deed or land title should be adopted; the English system would be a great improvement upon the present Lower Canada form of conveyancing.

"As regards Jesuits' Estates your committee lament that they have not full information on the subject, but it appears to them desirable that the proceeds should be applied to the purpose of education. The Assemblies of both provinces should be permitted to appoint agents to represent them in Great Britain. As regards the great question of the union of the Canadas your committee is not prepared to recommend it at present, nevertheless it is highly desirable that some satisfactory arrangement should be effected between the provinces with regard to the imposition and distribution of the customs collected in the St. Lawrence. They trust, however, that when the heats which so unfortunately exist shall have subsided that such an arrangement may be amicably effected. They have no doubt that many of the unfortunate disputes which have arisen between the Assembly and the other branches of the legislature are due to some serious defect in the systems of law and constitution which ought to be remedied without delay.

"They fully admit that the task of governing these provinces is not an easy one; at the same time there has been some real cause for discontent and friction

which cannot be removed unless a conciliating and constitutional system of administration be adopted in these loyal and important colonies.

"Your committee, in conclusion, feel bound to urge upon His Majesty's government in the most especial manner their opinion that it is necessary that a strict and instant inquiry should take place in all the circumstances with a view of giving such instruction to the colonial administration, as shall be consistent with justice and policy."

The reports were adopted by the Imperial parliament after a hot debate. The above able and impartial deliverance was upon the whole favorable to the contention of the Houses of Assembly in both provinces. Lord Dalhousie, as may be supposed, was greatly displeased with the tone of the report.

Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt, who had been on Sir J. H. Craig's staff, but now lieut.-governor of Nova Scotia, came up from Halifax in June, and accompanied Lord Dalhousie to Bytown (now Ottawa) on a tour of inspection of the construction work going forward upon the Rideau Canal. He returned to Halifax in July, and then back to Quebec in September to assume the government of Canada after the departure of Lord Dalhousie under the title of administrator-in-chief.

A grand complimentary entertainment was given to the Earl and Countess Dalhousie a few days before their departure for Britain by the civil and military society of Quebec. He had been previously entertained at a complimentary dinner in Montreal by its principal citizens.

He was also the recipient of many complimentary

addresses from government sympathizers in different parts of the province.

The French-speaking population were unfortunately disaffected towards His Excellency, and held aloof from all friendly demonstrations in his favor.

Government of Sir James Kempt, 1828.

The administration of Sir James Kempt convoked the provincial parliament on the 21st November, 1828, and confirmed Mr. Papineau as Speaker, who had been rejected the year previously by Lord Dalhousie. The opening speech of the administrator was a conciliatory one. The Assembly's reply was most cordial and reassuring. However, it has been remarked that while conciliation was on the lip, resentment, it was evident, still governed the hearts of those to whom the olive branch was tendered. Impeachments, petitions and deputations upon past grievances, some real and some imaginary, were rather encouraged by the dominant party in the Assembly, which resulted not only in much ill feeling but also in considerable expense.

Mr. Christie, member for Gaspe, was expelled from the House of Assembly upon a charge of having, while an attache of Lord Dalhousie, given advice prejudicial to some magisterial friends of the dominant party. The old difficulty over the mode of granting the supply was barely averted in the Legislative Council at this time by the votes of the chief justice and Bishop Stuart, each of whom patriotically deemed it politic to humor the Assembly for peace sake.

The restoration of the Jesuits' Estates to their original purpose was again the subject of an address; also another address was based upon an unfounded rumor that the estates of the St. Sulpicians were also to be secularized, which have, however, never been interfered with.

Some seventy-two bills, several of first importance, were passed, among which was an Act for redistribution of seats in the Assembly, which were now increased from fifty to eighty-four, and the greater part of the English names of counties were abolished, and French names substituted. The expediency of this course does not seem to be recorded anywhere. In most counties there was but one polling-place, and in no county were more than two polling places allowed, the elections lasting for days. The Eastern Townships, including Beauharnois, were then allowed for the first time to elect, in all, nine members at bye-elections for that purpose.

Another Act removed certain disabilities from the members of the Jewish faith, and still another Act was passed to remove all barriers out of the way of the Wesleyan Methodists in the matter of the registering of baptisms, marriages and burials. Provision was also wisely made for the erection of lighthouses and the improvement of internal communication. The trade of the country was in a prosperous condition.

The legislature was prorogued on the 4th March, 1829, and reassembled on the 22nd January, 1830, with the addition of the aforesaid nine newly elected members from the counties of Missisquoi, Sherbrooke, Drummond, Stanstead, Shefford and Beauharnois, the Eastern Townships having been hitherto long and

unjustly deprived of representation in the Assembly by the deliberate inaction of the majority of the House.

The administrator's speech contained the usual recommendation for local improvements; for a tax on non-resident lands; for some legislation on the currency question, and for some further provision respecting the criminal law.

Mr. Christie, member for Gaspe, having been re-elected since last session, was again expelled on the same frivolous charge upon which he had been previously ejected, after which the Assembly replied to the speech from the throne in gracious terms. Still the penchant for resurrecting the not altogether unfounded grievances was evidently as strong as ever, despite all pacific assurances to the contrary. Addresses were voted asking His Excellency for copies of the Imperial despatches dating back for a considerable period. These were not furnished, presumably upon the grounds of either not being in his possession, or were of a confidential nature for his own guidance. Some very liberal appropriations were made during the session, viz., for the construction of the magnificent stone wharves at Montreal; for the erection of more lighthouses and court-houses; a marine hospital and customs house at Quebec; also large sums for the construction of roads, grants for education, arts and science—going to extremes in the latter for objects in some instances quite unworthy of patronage.

After some fifty-four useful bills were passed prorogation took place in March.

Meanwhile the published opinions of the governors

of Lower and Upper Canada, Kempt and Colborne, in response to the inquiries of Colonial Minister Sir George Murray, upon the constitution of the executive of the Legislative Council, which although honestly and fairly expressed, gave a pretext for some dissatisfaction on the part of the dominant party in the Assembly, to which expression was given by the passing of resolutions both in the House and in the country parts. From this time the administration despaired of success in maintaining a proper feeling between the three branches of the legislature. His Excellency had gone out of his way to propitiate the dominant party; but his wonted play at expediency and conciliation were not likely to fare much better than the frank, even if impolitic, course of Lord Dalhousie. The administrator thereupon pleaded with the home government for his own recall after an incumbency of but two years.

The death of King George IV., on the 26th June, 1830, resulted in the dissolution of the House, which was still a constitutional custom in those times. A dissolution of parliament in those times always resulted throughout the empire upon the demise of the Crown.

Government of Lord Aylmer, 1830.

The arrival of Lord Aylmer at Quebec, on the 13th October, relieved Sir James Kempt of a government whereof it is believed he was heartily tired. The general elections took place in October, when eighty-four members were returned instead of fifty, the number so long returned at past general elections. The Legis-

lative Council consisted of twenty-four members, shortly afterwards increased to twenty-nine members. The Executive Council was comprised of Chief Justice Sewell, Bishop Stuart, and Messrs. Kerr, Smith, Richardson, Percival, Hall, Delerey, John Stuart, Cochrane and James Stuart.

The legislature was convoked on the 23rd January, 1831, and Mr. Papineau again elected Speaker. His Excellency's speech was scarcely a model one; it was intended to flatter the Assembly, but rather missed its mark. Mr. Christie, member for Gaspe, having been cruelly re-expelled on the same old frivolous charge, the House then replied to the governor's speech in its usual style.

Eleven standing committees were appointed, some of which were entirely different from the parliamentary standing committee of to-day. For instance, committees on grievances, on courts of justice, on education and schools, on trade, on roads and public improvements, on engrossed bills, were added to the ordinary committees of the present time. Thus organized the House went to work, determined on business, and particularly on reform.

The attorney-general, James Stuart, was vigorously impeached for alleged gross improprieties in the administration of his important office, and also for his alleged misconduct as a candidate in the William Henry election. The governor-general was requested to suspend him, and acceded to the request after some hesitation. Judges Fletcher and Kerr were also impeached, but suspension did not follow in these cases.

A very proper bill was finally passed after much opposition, by a majority of only seven, to grant for

the first time an indemnity to members for their attendance in parliament, the payment to be ten shillings per day. A large minority of members contended that the payment of members would result in the election of agitators, demagogues, and the scum of the country to the legislature. These apprehensions proved to be unreal.

The governor-general informed the House that the Imperial government would concede the largest part of the revenue, which had been in dispute, to the Assembly, reserving two of the original sources of revenue, amounting annually to about £7,000. But the House was still dissatisfied about the financial mode; more papers were asked for and violent resolutions introduced, a considerable minority of members conducting themselves in a very hostile and excited manner. It was provided for the future that no judge, excepting the chief justice, would be eligible to sit in either the Legislative Council or Assembly. A proposal to make the Legislative Council elective was proposed by Mr. Lee and seconded by Mr. Martin, but which did not carry, however. Other resolutions were introduced for the purpose of making application to the Imperial parliament for the repeal of the Canada Trades Act, and the Revenue Act of George III. Liberal appropriations for useful public improvements were, however, made during the session.

Some fifty thousand emigrants arrived at Quebec annually during the season of navigation, many of whom were destitute and sick, causing a considerable burden upon the residents of Lower Canada. The majority of these emigrants were destined for Upper Canada and the United States. More than one

thousand ships now crossed the ocean annually to the St. Lawrence River at Quebec. The very large towns of Quebec and Montreal were incorporated as cities during the session.

The "Royal William," of 1,370 tons, the first steamer to cross the Atlantic, was built this year at Quebec, to run from there to Halifax, touching at Miramichi, and was subsidized by the government; but as the venture was not a financial success the route was finally abandoned.

The French journal *Le Canadien,* which was suppressed by Governor Craig in 1810, re-appeared, and again commenced fanning the embers of discord until the outbreak in 1837.

Some uneasiness and resentment was aroused at this time over the serious proposal of the Upper Canadians to annex the Island of Montreal to their province in order to give Upper Canada a seaport.

Parliament was prorogued on 31st March, 1830, in rather a concise speech from the governor-general, and was again convoked by the same high functionary on 15th November, 1830. The speech from the throne was regarded as a sentimental and clap-trap effusion, the members eyeing and smiling at each other during its delivery.

The Assembly replied to the speech from the throne in honeyed terms as usual. Mr. Christie, member for Gaspe, having been re-elected was re-expelled from the House in pursuance of its previous action in this matter. His Excellency laid despatches before the House from the Imperial government, indicating a most liberal and conciliatory policy towards the parliament of Lower Canada, whereby it was pro-

posed to concede to it nearly the whole of the old Imperial revenue, and also to sanction such legislation as would promote the independence of both the bench and parliament. These gracious overtures on the part of the home government do not appear to have been met in a reciprocal spirit by the Assembly, judging by its subsequent course. The chronic disagreement between the Assembly and the executive as to the mode of preparing the supply bill still existed, and came to a deadlock again during the session. The Assembly had always been profuse of well-worded addresses and resolutions, but at the same time an ingrained determination seemed to pervade the leading spirits of the Assembly to hold out for nothing short of absolute control of both the finances and legislation, under the impression that these powers doubtlessly were delegated to them by the votes of an overwhelming majority of the electors, whereas the Legislative Council was an irresponsible body comprised at this time chiefly of men of but indifferent status.

Mr. P. Panet, member for Montmorency, was taken into the Executive Council during the session as a medium between the government and the Assembly. The expected advantages from this arrangement were not, however, realized. Had the idea taken form twenty years earlier it would probably have had a very good effect.

In other respects the province was in a prosperous condition, with ample revenues, which were wisely expended in the development and promotion of the general welfare of all the people.

A tax of one dollar per head was imposed on each immigrant arriving in the colony who held the sanc-

tion of the Imperial government for embarking, and without this sanction the tax was two dollars per head. This tax caused much indignation in Upper Canada, being prejudicial to the desirable settlement of the vast area of unoccupied good lands of that province.

The session was prorogued on 25th February, 1831, after sanctioning sixty-three bills, and reserving nine more Acts for His Majesty's pleasure, of which one was the supply bill, and another for disqualifying of judges from sitting and voting in the Legislative and Executive Councils. His Excellency, in the prorogation speech, remarked that the favorable expectations which he had entertained in the earlier part of the session had been disappointed despite the very liberal concessions of the Imperial parliament, made in order to propitiate the Assembly.

The census returns of the previous year gave Lower Canada a population of 504,598, and the return to the legislature of Upper Canada for the same year gave a population to the latter province of 235,064.

Meanwhile the anti-government press, particularly those published in the French language, continued to descant with unabated fury upon the alleged grievances and upon the abuse of power by the Executive and Legislative Councils. At the same time a committee of the Legislative Council, reporting upon the state of the government, pronounced among many other observations upon the conduct of the Assembly as follows:

"That the Assembly should be plainly told that unless they provide permanently for the ordinary civil list, the colony must be governed in another man-

ner, and that the Assembly was under the guidance of two or three leaders, who have anything in view but the public good. That no governor-general can, consistently with the constitution, possibly get along with them; that no constitution can stand long against the assaults to which it is exposed under such a system as that pursued by the Assembly."

These were prophetic words irrespective of which branch of the legislature was most to blame for bringing about the unfortunate trouble which followed a few years later.

An unhappy occurrence took place about this time during a late election in Montreal. Dr. Tracy, a newspaper editor, was the candidate of the French-speaking electors, and Mr. Bagg, a merchant, was the candidate of the other party. The open voting contest lasted three weeks. Tracy was two or three votes ahead of his opponent near the close of the poll. The excitement was intense, and the animosity so bitter between the two parties that the police were unable to preserve order, and a sanguinary conflict between the two parties seemed inevitable. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to have in readiness a small military force in case of emergency. The 15th Regiment of Foot, under Col. Macintosh, was then in barracks at Montreal. A detachment in charge of Captain Temple was sent to the neighborhood of the hustings to be in readiness, if required, but no pains were to be spared to avert the dire necessity of taking action; but it is alleged that the Tracy party set everything at defiance, and pelted the other party, as well as the soldiers, with brick-bats and stones. Remonstrance with the Tracy party was in vain; finally the order

was reluctantly given the troops to fire. The crowd then immediately dispersed, but unfortunately leaving on the spot three killed and two severely wounded, Dr. Tracy was declared elected by a majority of three. This unfortunate affair created an extraordinary sensation. A coroner's inquest was held upon the victims, and the magistrates who called out the soldiers, with Colonel Macintosh and Captain Temple, were indicted for murder; but the grand jury at the following criminal assizes threw out the indictment. Mr. Papineau, of Montreal, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, had the assurance, probably in the excitement of the times, to write the governor-general, Lord Aylmer, requesting him to come up in person and bring Messrs. Neilson and Panet with him to investigate and assist in the inquiry. His Excellency did not reply to Mr. Papineau's letter, which wounded the susceptibilities of the latter. Notwithstanding the presumptuous note of Speaker Papineau it would have been advisable of the governor-general to have replied, expressing his sincere regret for the occurrence, but that it would be *infra dig* for him to interfere personally, seeing that the case was already in the hands of the proper legal authorities.

The occurrence, however, was a proper subject for parliamentary inquiry. A precedent is to be found in the Jamaica case, in 1808, where Major-General Carmichael, commander of the forces, was compelled to submit to the legislature in somewhat similar circumstances to that of the Lower Canada affair.

Asiatic cholera having made its appearance in Britain during the late winter, the home government advised His Excellency to make preparations against

it in Canada. Consequently thorough precautions were taken for quarantine regulations at Grosse Isle, thirty miles below the City of Quebec.

As had been anticipated, the fearful cholera scourge was now at hand. An emigrant ship arrived on 8th June, 1831, with one hundred and thirty-three passengers on board, fifty-nine having died of cholera during the passage. The prevailing north-east wind evidently having carried the epidemic into the city, the day following the arrival of the ship fifteen persons were attacked with the dreadful plague. From Quebec it bounded up the St. Lawrence, breaking out on the 10th at Montreal with great violence; a day or two later in Kingston, then at Toronto, and westward through the towns and villages of Upper Canada. Before the end of September more than three thousand deaths took place in the City of Quebec. Among those who died of cholera in Montreal was the newly elected member, Dr. Tracy. While the pestilence was scourging the province the scourge of political agitation was also doing its insidious work. Grievance meetings were being held. The unfortunate election riot, already referred to, in Montreal, with loss of life, formed one of the exciting topics. Both the magistrate and military were designated murderers, and collections were taken up in the churches for the support of the widows and children of the three killed, and also something for the wounded. The Mother Country was severely blamed for having permitted the cholera emigration, and that also of a destitute class of emigrants, and for meddling by legislation with the internal affairs of the colony. The composition of the Legislative Council came in

for some well-merited criticism, and an immediate assembly of parliament was demanded. Counter meetings were held in which resolutions were passed deploring and deprecating the excitement which was being produced by some disaffected persons, whereby the mass of the people were being misled, causing a deplorable estrangement and alienation of so many of the people. While the meetings did not entirely approve the composition of the Legislative and Executive Councils, and admitting that a few of its members were not thoroughly independent—which, however, was not a sufficient cause, it was alleged, for the mischievous and uncalled-for agitation which was so industriously carried on by a few leaders.

The Rideau Canal, between Bytown (now Ottawa) and Kingston, was now completed by the Imperial government in a very expeditious and satisfactory manner, under the superintendence of Col. By, who justly received many marks of appreciation from the people of Canada before leaving for England. The above work was completed long in advance of the St. Lawrence canals.

Lord Aylmer made a tour of portions of Lower Canada this year with a view of ascertaining its capabilities for settlement. He first visited the Eastern Townships as far as the Vermont boundary, and estimated that 500,000 inhabitants might be added to the existing population, the country being most eligible for settlement, the soil fertile and abounding in forest trees of the finest growth. He then visited the Ottawa River as far as Bytown, and reported an eligible district with capacity of 100,000 inhabitants on the Lower Canada side of the river.

Parliament met on the 15th November, 1831. Mr. Christie was again expelled for the fifth time. Mr. Bourdages, member for Nicolet, one of Mr. Papineau's active lieutenants, conducted the proceedings against Mr. Christie.

The governor-general's speech in opening the session touched on a good many current topics, and concluded with an ardent hope that the labors of the session might be productive of measures calculated to advance the substantial interests of the colony.

The Assembly proceeded immediately after the delivering of His Excellency's speech to censure his prorogation speech at the last session.

On the following day His Excellency sent down by message the views of His Majesty's government on the supply bill of the previous session which had been reserved by himself, but now sanctioned by the home government, with a request that in future the supply bill be made out in detail, showing the precise amount and object on which each item is appropriated, otherwise the governor-general will in future have to decline the acceptance of supply bills in any other form. Another despatch from the home government was sent to the Assembly at the same time, disapproving of the expulsion of Robert Christie, member for Gaspe. These communications threw the House into a fever and produced a string of resolutions expressive of its indignation.

A vacancy having occurred in the bench at Quebec by the decease of Justice Taschereau, Mr. Phillip Panet, member for Montmorency, was appointed to the vacant judgeship, which caused a vacancy in the Executive Council and Assembly. His place in the

Executive Council was filled by Mr. Dominique Mondelet, a promising young member from the County of Montreal, who was not, however, acceptable to the Assembly on the grounds of his brief parliamentary experience.

The Assembly, therefore, decided that Mr. Mondelet must go back to his county for re-election, although this had not been required of Mr. Panet under similar circumstances. The Assembly accordingly declared Mr. Mondelet's seat vacant and issued a writ for a new election. The governor-general did not, however, give effect to the writ, but referred the case to the home government for advice. Mr. Mondelet contended, with some reason, that as no salary was attached to the office of executive councillor a new election was not required by law.

The Assembly, by an address, called for the suspension of Mr. Justice Kerr, to which the governor-general withheld his consent, and referred the matter to the home government. The refusal to accede to the Assembly's address was approved; but the grounds stated by the governor-general for his action were not approved of by the home government.

A very acrimonious debate ensued over the Montreal election riot already referred to, the majority of members holding that Colonel Macintosh, of the 15th Regiment, who was about to leave the province, was wrongly acquitted of murder by the judges; this affair, with a multitude of grievances, was referred to a committee of inquiry.

A despatch from the home government disapproving in part of the bill for disqualifying the judges as members of the House was laid before the Assembly; at the

same time the governor-general was instructed to not appoint any more judges to the Legislative Council except the chief justice.

The Assembly, by an humble address, asked His Excellency if he had recommended an increase in the number of legislative councillors since last session, and if so, the names of the persons so appointed, to which His Excellency replied that he could not consent to give the House any information on this point, to which it would appear he might reasonably have complied without embarrassment to anyone.

The governor-general sent down the estimates, requiring $273,000 to be voted for the current year. The House passed a resolution by a vote of 34 yeas to 26 nays that the composition of the Legislative Council for the last forty years was not calculated to secure contentment, good government, the development of resources and industry of the province, and appointed a committee of nine to consider what changes and alterations should be made in its constitution. The committee appointed Mr. Bedard, member for Saguenay, as chairman, and after nearly a month's deliberation, a most elaborate report recommending that the members of the Legislative Council be elected by the people, was adopted by the close vote of 31 yeas to 29 nays.

The report was a very able and comprehensive document, proposing many valuable features, safeguards, and conditions to distinguish the Legislative Council from the Assembly.

Difficulties had arisen between the respective commissioners of Lower and Upper Canada with respect to the apportionment of the customs dues between the

two provinces, consequently the Upper Canadians revived the proposal to annex the counties of Montreal and Vaudreuil to Upper Canada, which naturally called forth a most vigorous protest on the part of the Assembly of Lower Canada.

The majority in the Assembly were now greatly elated upon hearing that their impeachment of Attorney-General James Stuart had resulted in his removal from office by the governor-general with the sanction of the home government. Mr. Stuart, although temporarily disgraced, was looked on as a most talented gentleman, and the undoubted peer of the Lower Canada bar. Mr. Justice Kerr was also removed from office in the same way, but did not receive the same sympathy as was meted out to Mr. Stuart.

The Assembly again reverted to the unfortunate election riot in Montreal, to which His Excellency now replied, exonerating Col. Macintosh of the 15th Regiment of improper conduct in the lamentable occurrence.

The Legislative Council had in the meantime addressed the King in a strong attack upon the Assembly, impugning the motives of a majority of the members, and warning the King against its sinister designs. To this address the King, in his reply, made use of the following sharp words of rebuke.

"He cannot but wish that they had abstained from using language less temperate in its tone than is consistent with their own dignity when speaking of the other branch of the legislature; more especially he laments the introduction of any words which should have the appearance of ascribing to a class of one origin views at variance with the allegiance that they

owe. On all classes alike he relies for a cheerful and willing obedience to the law. To all classes he will ever extend his fraternal protection."

His Majesty at the same time decided adversely to the claims of the Speaker of the Legislative Council for double voting, he to be allowed only the casting vote when the votes of the other members are even.

During the discussion in committee upon the Land Company, which had been formed in London for the purchasing of lands in the Eastern Townships, Mr. Speaker Papineau was accused of alluding in an uncomplimentary manner to the Eastern Townships' representatives, who were chiefly of American origin, while speaking in the French language, which those members did not understand at the moment, but to which Mr. Taylor, of Missisquoi subsequently rejoined in a caustic letter in the Quebec *Mercury* newspaper. This action was voted by the House a malicious libel against the Speaker and the liberty of its debates, for which Mr. Taylor was imprudently committed to jail for twenty-four hours, the effect of which only tended to raise his popularity.

The attention of His Excellency was now called to the vacancy in the representation of the County of Montreal to replace Mr. Mondelet, for which a writ of election had been issued by the Speaker of the Assembly three months previously, but had not been acted upon by His Excellency, who now reported that he had referred the matter to the home secretary, from whom he expected instructions ere long. This reply was referred immediately to the standing committee upon elections, which in evidently bad temper reported that His Excellency's conduct was a violation

of the constitution and laws of the province and an infringement of the privileges of the House, and that such conduct must put an end to every feeling of good understanding between His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief and the House of Assembly, and that the House ought perhaps to suspend all further proceedings and all communications whatsoever with His Excellency until he has made reparation for breach of its rights and privileges. The only circumstances which may induce them to defer the communication of such a determination to His Excellency is the indispensable necessity of passing a bill with the view of preventing, as far as human means may permit, by a proper system of quarantine the return of cholera morbus.

The supply bill for the current year finally engaged the attention of the Assembly. The amount asked for was reduced by $35,000, consequently the bill was rejected by the Legislative Council.

The Assembly complained that the governor-in-chief was withholding information and documents which he was constitutionally bound to lay before them, to the detriment of the good government of His Majesty in this province and of his faithful subjects therein.

At this period the Post-Office Department was still under the direct control of the Imperial government; it was therefore most opportunely resolved by the Assembly that the Imperial government be memorialized for a transfer of its control to the colonial legislature. It would appear that among the causes of dissatisfaction with the existing postal system was a custom of exacting burdensome rates from newspaper publishers, the whole proceeds of which were pocketed by the official as perquisites.

Parliament, after a very long but comparatively fruitless session, was finally prorogued in a courteous speech from the throne, which, however, betrayed a feeling of disappointment on the part of His Excellency.

A public meeting was held in the Exchange in the City of Quebec disapproving of the attitude of the Assembly, and at the same time unfortunately arousing a feeling of discord between the races, which subsequently culminated in regrettable hostility.

The bills incorporating the cities of Quebec and Montreal, the sanction of which had been for some inexplicable reason reserved for the royal pleasure, having been finally sanctioned, Mr. Elzear Bedard was chosen mayor of Quebec and Mr. Jacques Viger mayor of Montreal. In the case of the City Council of Quebec it was unfortunate that a narrow-minded attempt was made to confine the conduct of the city affairs entirely in the French language. The minority were obliged to invoke the intervention of the Court of King's Bench to secure the use of the English language as well as the French. The incident created considerable noise, and also produced a bad effect.

Parliament again assembled on 7th January, 1832. The speech from the throne foreshadowed considerable important business; but it is surmised that the Assembly was bent upon doing little or no business, and even declined to appoint the usual committee of good correspondence with the Legislative Council. On the 13th day of the month His Excellency communicated two despatches from the Imperial government: one of which approved in a qualified manner of His Excellency's course for not endorsing the writ

for a new election in Mr. Mondelet's constituency, on the ground that no salary was attached to the office; the other message related to the non-concurrence in the proposal of the Assembly to make the Legislative Council elective, but suggested that the personnel of the council should be made as unobjectionable as possible.

The Act for the imposition of taxes on emigrants would expire on the first of May next, and as the said Act had aroused the greatest dissatisfaction in Upper Canada His Excellency intimated to the Assembly that he could not approve of a continuation of any Act which imposed taxes on emigrants arriving in this country.

The Assembly had expended over $35,000 upon the persistent and fruitless investigation into the aforementioned Montreal election riot of 1832, and now requested His Excellency to issue his warrant in favor of the clerk of the House for that amount. This opened up the question of supply, in which the Assembly themselves had been so obstinate in the past, and in order to obtain the $35,000 for the House contingencies the Assembly was confronted with its own past conduct in refusing to vote the sum in full necessary to pay the salaries for the public service, consequently there could exist no good understanding upon the financial question under such circumstances, which had been hitherto a continuous cause of embarrassment and inconvenience.

During the session the ancient Castle of St. Louis in Quebec, the residence of both the former French and British governors, was unfortunately totally destroyed by fire despite the great exertions of both the military and civilians to save it.

A bill was introduced by Mr. A. Stuart for the purpose of placing the Executive Council on a different footing. The bill passed both houses, but was reserved for the royal pleasure and never heard of again. It is not known whether the principle of responsible government was suggested in the bill proposed or not.

The House went into committee to consider the state of the province, the sittings of which lasted for several days, during which the famous ninety-two resolutions were adopted by a vote of 56 to 24, every member of the House having voted, a most unusual experience of parliamentary attendance. Some of the planks of the proposed platform were good ones, but many others were totally inadmissible, in the way of resolutions, for the time, and it is surprising that responsible government was not proposed in the resolutions. His Excellency was requested, and consented, to transmit the proposals to His Majesty, although dissenting from the contents of the said resolutions. The Legislative Council also sent counter resolutions and a number of respectable Quebec merchants addressed His Excellency as well, in disapprobation of the ninety-two resolutions.

Forty-two bills passed both houses, of which His Excellency reserved eleven for the royal pleasure, and rejected one himself.

Mr. A. R. Hamel, a lawyer, was taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms, and admonished at the bar of the House for giving alleged improper advice to a client in the matter of a contested election in the County of Stanstead, which certainly was a strange proceeding on the part of the Assembly. The bar-

risters at Quebec and Montreal, at a meeting convoked for the purpose, protested against the action of the Assembly as an undue exercise of power, and a subversion of the independence of the bar.

A formal despatch from Lord Goderich, secretary of state for the colonies, was laid upon the table disapproving of the grounds upon which Mr. Christie, member for Gaspe, had been repeatedly expelled from the House. His Excellency prorogued parliament in rather a dissatisfied mood, and expressed a hope that the next session would be more satisfactory than the two preceding sessions proved to have been.

Meanwhile the petitions, representations and complaints *pro* and *con* from the colony, again engaged the attention of the Imperial parliament. Mr. J. A. Roebuck, a gentleman who championed the cause of the House of Assembly in the capacity of paid agent and advisor, moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the means of remedying the evils which prevailed in the form of government now existing in Lower and Upper Canada. The motion was superseded by Mr. Stanley, the colonial minister, who moved for a select committee as follows:

"To inquire into and report to the House how far the grievances complained of in the year 1828 on the part of certain inhabitants of Lower Canada had been redressed, and the recommendations of the committee of the House which sat thereupon have been complied with on the part of His Majesty's government, and to inquire into the matter of certain other grievances not then brought under the consideration of this House, but now set forth in the resolution of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada in the present

session, and to report their opinion thereon to the House."

A good committee of twenty-eight members was accordingly appointed, some of whom had served on the former committee six years previously. The committee, after the most thorough investigation, brought in the following cautious report:

"Your committee consider it their duty to declare their opinion that a most earnest desire has existed on the part of the home government to carry into execution the suggestions of the select committee of 1828, and that the endeavors of the government to that end have been unremitting and guided by an anxiety in all cases to promote the interests of the colony; and your committee have observed with much satisfaction that in several important particulars these endeavors have been successful. It is, however, with deep regret that your committee perceive that in others they have not been attended with that success which might have been anticipated, heats and animosities having unfortunately arisen, and differences continuing to prevail between the branches of the colonial legislatures as well as between the House of Assembly and His Majesty's government. Those unhappy differences appear to your committee no less intended to check the progress of improvement in one of the most important of our colonial possessions than to affect most injuriously the interests of the British Empire. Your committee believe that they will best discharge their duty by withholding any further opinion on the points in dispute. It appears to them that some unnatural misconceptions have prevailed, and when your committee consider the extreme importance that

a perfect reconciliation of these differences should take place, they express the earnest hope that these misconceptions being removed many of the present difficulties will no longer exist or will be amicably adjusted, and that the practical measures for the future administration of Lower Canada may best be left to the mature consideration of the government responsible for their adoption and execution."

Neither the evidence submitted nor the documents examined were submitted with the report. A very sensible report indeed, so far as it goes, but no definite or practical remedy is suggested in it to avert an impending crisis. The report merely exonerates the home government, but declares that the difficulty still remains. The continuance of agitation in Lower Canada was not reassuring for the hopeful anticipations of Lord Aylmer. The intemperate and indiscreet language of the press supporting the House of Assembly aroused strong opposition, chiefly on the part of the English-speaking portion of the community, who presented addresses to His Excellency couched in condemnatory language upon the attitude of a large majority of the members of the Assembly, and at the same time warning the government against the menacing and revolutionary tone of the press. On the other hand the supporters of the Assembly held a convention in Montreal in which resolutions were adopted condemnatory of the Imperial Parliamentary Committee for withholding the publication of the evidence of witnesses and documents which came before them. The Imperial administration and also the present and some previous governor-generals were censured.

The parliamentary term having now expired, the general elections, the last election under the constitution of Lower Canada, took place in October and November, 1835, and resulted, as anticipated, in nearly a complete route of the English-speaking party. Messrs. Neilson and Stuart, who had for a considerable time acted with a majority of the Assembly, having began to counsel a more moderate and compromising spirit, were both defeated at the polls. Mr. Papineau, who at that period could be elected for almost any constituency in the province, persisted in standing for the West Ward of Montreal, which comprised a large English-speaking element, thereby incurring a very hard fight, but was, with Robert Nelson, declared elected before all the votes were polled, though more voters were at hand desiring to vote. The returning officer, Mr. C. A. Lusignan proclaimed that it was impossible to continue the election with safety, and declared the two candidates then at the head of the poll as duly elected.

When the elections were over the defeated party, self-styled the constitutionalists, comprising largely the leading merchants of both cities, met in convention, and adopted resolutions declaratory of danger to British connection, judging, they alleged, by the leaders in the Assembly. The new parliament, the last of Lower Canada as a separate province, met in February of 1835, Mr. Papineau again being chosen Speaker.

His Excellency, Governor-General Aylmer, explained that recent changes in His Majesty's councils had delayed some important communications which had not been received. He had, however, received

intimation that the Imperial government had already introduced legislation relating to the Post-Office Department in His Majesty's dominions in North America. A draft of said bill would be submitted for the consideration of the Assembly at an early period. He furthermore informed the Assembly that he had, previous to the opening of navigation last year, re-established the quarantine station at Grosse Isle, and that owing to the failure of the supply bill last session he had tided over the public service by taking $155,000 out of the Imperial military chest, which he trusted the Assembly would repay in addition to the supplies for the ensuing year, and earnestly recommended that the Assembly would now proceed with diligence in the discharge of their important duty as legislators, and hoped that this parliament would be distinguished for the benefit conferred by it upon the province.

The Assembly, before proceeding to reply to the recent speech from the throne, attacked the prorogation speech made by His Excellency at the end of the previous session, and resolved that the said speech be expunged from the journals of the House. This being done the House took into consideration the opening speech of the present session in a somewhat moderate tone, but revived the old claim for making the Legislative Council elective, and for the removal of certain grievances which it was alleged would act as a panacea for all the existing evils.

A lengthy address to the king on the state of the province was agreed upon, asking for redress to grievances, to which was added a complaint against His Excellency of illegal, unjust and unconstitutional

conduct, and also of the executive's assumption of the rights of the people; but still no mention was yet made of the principles of responsible government.

Some communication now ensued between the Assembly and His Excellency on the financial question, as both parties were feeling the embarrassment induced by mutual obstinacy, but no good understanding was yet arrived at. The colonial secretary about this time detected a serious anomaly in the practice of controlling the expenditures. The Legislative Council and Assembly exercised a vigilant control over the expenditures of the executive branch of the legislature, but the Executive Council and Assembly exercised no control over the expenditure in the Legislative Council. In this particular system the principle of cheques and balance which constitute the most admirable feature of the British constitution was altogether lost sight of in the constitution of Lower Canada, a defect which was doubtless provocative of much of the dissatisfaction with the Legislative Council.

The Assembly having for several days successively adjourned for want of a quorum, and it being obvious that no further business would be attended to, His Excellency prorogued the legislature on the 18th March, sanctioning but one bill, the only Act passed in the session of twenty-five days.

His Excellency regretted that the Assembly had failed to apply itself to those measures of relief in relation to the permanent difficulties of the province, and furthermore regretted that the shortness of the session prevented his laying before them expected communications of importance from the home govern-

ment of vital interest to the province, which he had reason to believe were near at hand.

During these times Mr. Jessop, collector of customs at Quebec, was committed to prison for an alleged contempt of the Assembly in not making a return asked for by it of all vessels entered at said port, with full particulars as to passengers, etc. Mr. Jessop's cause of refusal was that the order did not emanate from His Excellency, which appears to be a valid reason. The collector was, however, confined in prison until the prorogation.

A change of colonial officials having taken place in the Imperial government, Lord Aberdeen was now in charge of the colonial office, and addressed a despatch to His Excellency Lord Aylmer, couched in kindly and commendatory terms, but pointed out at the same time that the exigencies of the occasion rendered a change in the governor-generalship necessary, seeing that no progress had been made in promoting harmony between the different branches of the legislature. The government had resolved upon the appointment of a high commissioner of Canada. The post was offered first to Viscount Canterbury, and then to Lord Amherst, but both found excuses for declining the appointment. The Earl of Gosford was finally selected as high commissioner with Sir Charles Grey and Sir George Gipps as assistants. It is worthy of mention that in the interim Lord Aylmer was the recipient of an approving letter from Lord Glenelg, who had now succeeded Lord Aberdeen in the colonial office. He, however, allowed the polite recall of Lord Aylmer by his predecessor to go into effect.

A general feeling of regret prevailed, at least among the English-speaking people, that Lord Aylmer had been harshly treated. Flattering addresses from various parts were presented to him, and a farewell banquet was tendered His Lordship and Lady Aylmer by the principal citizens of Quebec on the eve of their departure. His Excellency had during his sojourn in Quebec caused a marble slab to be placed in the Ursuline Convent to the memory of Montcalm, and also had a monument erected to the memory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham—all at his own personal expense.

Government of the Earl of Gosford.

The new governor or commissioner, Earl of Gosford, and his assistants, arrived at Quebec on the 23rd August, 1835, and the following day issued his proclamation notifying his assumption of the government, and summoned the legislature for the despatch of business for 27th October. Meantime the new governor tried to propitiate the leaders of the Assembly during the short interval before the House met. He was visited by Messrs. Papineau and Debartzch immediately after his arrival in Quebec, and a caucus of the members of the Assembly and their sympathizers was held at Three Rivers to determine upon the course most proper to be adopted towards the new governor-general, and in particular towards the commission of which he was the chief. It was contended, chiefly by Dr. O'Collaghan, the firebrand member for Yamaska, and publisher of the *Vindicator* newspaper, that no business should be entered upon by the Assembly until a sufficient sum to cover its contingencies was

advanced, and that unconditionally at the discretion of the House. Others suggested that the authority of the commission might be challenged as having only been appointed by the king without the concurrence of the British parliament.

The constitutional association of Quebec, rather too officiously, on the other hand, essayed to head off Dr. O'Collaghan's proposal as regards the contingent fund by resolutions and an address, which they presented the day before the meeting of parliament, by which it was urged that monies should only be appropriated in the regular way by bill approved of by the three branches of the legislature, to which His Excellency very properly replied, in effect, that he knew himself what to do in the premises.

His Excellency opened the session of parliament in a most reassuring and lengthy speech, evincing a disposition to consider and remedy every grievance within his power. He poured oil on the troubled waters most lavishly, appealing to both branches of the legislature for harmonious and united action. Every topic was touched upon except the constitution of the Legislative Council. He stated that he would know no race or religion; that all would be equal upon their merits. He did not like to hear the words "French" or "English"—all are Canadians, or British. His commendable attitude certainly deserved a more gracious appreciation from the Assembly than it received; but, as will be seen, one or two of the headstrong leaders in the Assembly were determined against any compromise, consequently the olive branch was held out in vain.

A bill was introduced immediately after the deliv-

ery of the speech for the appointment of an agent of the province in Great Britain, as if to signalize their disregard of the commission just announced from the throne. Dr. O'Collaghan carried an address to interrogate His Excellency respecting the complaint against Justice Gale, whereupon Mr. Van Felson, member for Lower Town, Quebec, remonstrated against these proceedings before the reply to the speech from the throne was adopted. The question was discussed by several members *pro* and *con*. Dr. O'Collaghan's motion was adopted, however, by a large majority.

The committee appointed to draft the reply to the speech from the throne omitted all reference to the commissioners, whereupon an amendment was offered expressing gratification to His Majesty for the wisdom and magnanimity in having appointed a commission of such ability, which cannot fail to be of undoubted service to the well-being of the province. The amendment was, however, unfortunately lost. Mr. Papineau, with doubtful propriety, spoke against it at length.

The financial difficulties appear to have been got over smoothly to the satisfaction of all parties, but the Legislative Council having rejected the Agents' Bill for the appointment of Mr. Roebuck, M.P., with salary and contingent expenses, the Assembly speedily experienced a relapse, in which Mr. Papineau is said to have unwisely given expression to some republican ideas. The standing committee on grievances was renewed this session, and on motion of Dr. O'Collaghan it was instructed to inquire into the proceedings adopted by either houses of the Imperial

parliament relative to the petitions addressed by this House, in 1834, on the state of the province, framed upon the celebrated ninety-two resolutions. The conduct of the Assembly was regarded by its opponents as being most menacing and alarming, particularly in the district of Montreal, evoking the spontaneous formation of a volunteer rifle corp, which was tendered His Excellency, but was declined by him on the grounds both of illegality and inexpediency. The members of the corp, however, dissented from His Excellency's opinion and declared, on the contrary, that there was real danger of an outbreak, and, furthermore, that revolutionary characters were holding positions in the regular militia. A memorial was also addressed to His Excellency by the leading merchants and others of Montreal dissenting from the feelings of safety which he had expressed, asserting that machinations were now in progress dangerous to British connection. The vacancy in the King's Bench by the removal of Justice Kerr not having been filled, Lord Gosford appointed Mr. Bedard, the mover of the ninety-two resolutions, to the vacancy. The appointment was very unpopular with the English-speaking population; it was, however, a good appointment as regards the personal qualifications of Mr. Bedard.

Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne, in opening the parliament of Upper Canada in January of 1836, made some allusion to the dissensions in Lower Canada, which he alleged were injurious to the cause of the influx of emigration and capital to both provinces.

The Lower Canada Assembly, being very sensitive,

it was resolved, on motion of Dr. O'Collaghan to take into consideration the speech of Sir John Colborne, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. However, circumstances and delays transpired causing the motion to lie over, and meanwhile Sir John Colborne retired from the lieutenant-governorship of Upper Canada, and was succeeded by Sir Francis Bond Head.

The new lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada sent down to the Assembly of that province a copy of the ministers' instructions to the commissioners for their guidance. Speaker Bidwell, of Upper Canada, perceiving discrepancies between those instructions and Lord Gosford's speech at the opening of the Lower Canada session, acted the mischievous busy-body by forwarding extracts from them to Speaker Papineau, for the information of the body over which he presided, and who no doubt gladly laid them before the House. From this moment it became certain that Lord Gosford's mission was a failure. His Excellency, however, in consequence of this exposure, now sent down copies in full of all instructions, contending at the same time there had been no discrepancy in the former extracts given; this, however, did not re-establish the confidence which the revelation of His Excellency's instructions in the manner mentioned had spoken.

The speech of ex-Lieutenant-Governor Colborne of Upper Canada, to which former reference has been made, was now taken into consideration, and said speech repudiated in a series of resolutions, copies of which the Speaker was authorized to transmit to the speakers of both houses in Upper Canada. Mr.

Papineau also, in a very able, but in part an injudicious, letter addressed to Speaker Bidwell of the Upper Canada Assembly, descanted upon the state of the two provinces. The communication was, however, very properly resented by the parliament of Upper Canada.

The Assembly now resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the public accounts and state of the province and decided to vote the supplies for six months only, clamoring again for the adoption of the elective system in the constitution of the Legislative Council. Justifiable charges of impropriety were laid against Mr. Felton, commissioner of Crown lands; charges were also made against Judges Bowen and Thompson, as also against several officials of minor rank. A demand was also made that the deputy postmaster-general, Mr. T. A. Stayner, be compelled to reimburse the sum of £9,550 5s. 2d., alleged to have been wrongfully pocketed for the transmission of newspapers. It was ascertained, however, that the reflection cast upon Mr. Stayner was unjust; that these perquisites had been regularly allowed by the Imperial authorities, and therefore, the deputy postmaster-general was within his rights. The incident is only mentioned to show what was transpiring in the political arena. Other matters were reviewed by the Assembly which did not result in anything of importance. In the matter of legislation a bill was passed authorizing the construction of a railway from the St. Lawrence River to the province line; but, strange to say, His Excellency blindly reserved the bill for the royal pleasure, on the grounds that the railway would traverse waste lands of the Crown,

which was surely a very antiquated idea for a progressive individual to entertain. This was the last of constitutional legislation in the Parliament of Lower Canada. Although the House met twice subsequently, previous to the suspension of the constitution, no acts whatever were passed.

The House abdicated its functions, as will be seen, until changes at their dictation should be made in the constitution of the province, which the British government deemed at that time incompatible with the British constitution, and, therefore, inadmissible.

Lord Gosford prorogued parliament on the 26th March, with strong expressions of regret, and reported his ill success to the home government.

Meanwhile, the so-called constitutionalists were actively avowing, in lengthy addresses and resolutions, to the effect that if there were any grievances to complain of by any one, that they themselves had more cause of complaint than had the agitators, whose alleged grievances were more imaginary than real—a statement which the constitutionalists were not warranted in making, as some grievances did certainly exist.

The assistant commissioners, Sir Charles Grey and Sir George Gipps, were assiduous in investigating the causes of dissensions, but withheld all information pending their report to the Imperial parliament. However, it may be significant that an increased representation of French-speaking members was now made in both the Executive and Legislative Councils, which ought to have been done years previously.

His Excellency summoned a meeting of parliament in September, and made an appeal to the Assembly

for the discharge of the usual parliamentary duties, to which the Assembly replied that their labors were usually rendered abortive in consequence of the systematic rejection by the Legislative Council of all the projects of law calculated to remedy the past, to protect the people in future, to enlighten them, and to advance their moral welfare, to improve their social and physical condition, and to entrust them with those powers and influence in the constitution, the administration of laws, and the management of local affairs, to which they are entitled by the very principles of government. The system now in practice was designated a vicious one, and an appeal was made to His Excellency for a remedy, which meant, of course, among other things, a change in the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils.

To this deliverance His Excellency replied with thanks, and promptly carried out the promise previously made of laying before them the reply to their previous address by their most gracious sovereign, which was forwarded by the colonial minister, Lord Glenelg, and which was as follows:

"The king, William IV., expressed with deep regret the ill success of His Majesty's efforts to remove from the mind of the representatives of the people of Lower Canada those distrusts and jealousies with which they appear unfortunately to have been affected, conscious, however, that his measures had been dictated by an earnest solicitude for the welfare of all classes of his Canadian subjects, unmixed with any motive of a less just and liberal character. His Majesty awaits with tranquility the

results of this long and painful discussion, assured that when the misconceptions of the moment shall have passed away his labors for the prosperity of Lower Canada will be repaid by the confidence of the inhabitants of that province, of whatever class or origin."

The despatch continued at length in a pacific and encouraging tone, stating, among other things, that the commissioners were instructed to inquire as to the most effectual means that could be taken for securing such a Legislative Council as shall enjoy at once a due share of public confidence and a full exercise of an enlightened and independent judgment on all matters submitted to its consideration.

A spirit of wrong-headedness or strong-headedness —according to the sympathies of the reader—pervaded the Assembly, and nothing short of the radical changes in the constitution proposed in the famous ninety-two resolutions would satisfy them; no compromise would be entertained by them. The high commissioners sent out by His Majesty to inquire into the state of the province on the spot were completely ignored. His Excellency was, however, personally treated with due respect.

As regards the non-provision of the supplies the Assembly laid the blame entirely upon the conduct of the Legislative Council, and intimated its decision never to resume its functions under the existing constitution. This declaration was carried by a vote of 58 to 6. The session lasted but thirteen days and passed no legislation. His Excellency then prorogued the session in a most regretful speech. The legisla-

ture of Upper Canada at this time, very inopportunely for the tranquility of the Lower Canada Assembly, again voted an address for the annexation to that province of the City and County of Montreal.

Lord John Russell, in the Imperial parliament, had brought up the subject of the unsatisfactory state of the government in Lower Canada, but even he did not advise making the Legislative Council an elective body. The receipt of this intelligence gave an impetus to the agitation in the press and upon the platform. Already Dr. O'Collaghan's paper, *The Vindicator,* published in the English language, indulged especially in an incendiary tone. Large public meetings in denunciation of the constitution and of the legislature were held chiefly in the district of Montreal, and the idea of a republic was hinted at by some of the more extreme agitators, who also proposed that no more British goods should be consumed by them in Lower Canada. It is, however, but fair to state that some of the speakers were most able and worthy men, who in the subsequent days of tranquility occupied most prominent and distinguished positions in the public service, revered as loyal, true and able statesmen by all classes of the united provinces of Upper and Lower Canada; a few of them even survived long enough to give a loyal and helping hand in the great scheme for the confederation of the several British-American provinces into the present vast Dominion of Canada.

Counter meetings were held by the friends of the existing constitution of a very non-conciliatory character, which only tended to intensify the hostile attitude of the revolutionary party, thereby making

matters worse instead of better, and which finally culminated in the great calamity which constitutes the darkest page in Canadian history.

King William IV. died on the 20th June, 1837, but the event was not known in those days of sailing vessels in Canada until the 31st July. Queen Victoria was proclaimed as sovereign in Quebec on the following day, August 1st. Appropriate resolutions upon these events were adopted at a public meeting.

His Excellency now felt constrained to dismiss several militia officers as participators in the hostile agitation which was going forward. Among these was Mr. Speaker Papineau, major of the 3rd Battalion of Lower Canada.

Meanwhile the governor-general received instructions from the home government to try another session of the Assembly, which he accordingly convened for the 18th of August. Owing to the demise of the former sovereign the members were resworn, demurring at first, but finally went through the form most reluctantly. Several of the leading members and professional men made themselves ridiculous by attiring themselves in homespun apparel from head to foot in token of their determination not to patronize British trade, through feelings of revenge upon the home government for having refused certain constitutional changes.

His Excellency, after referring in affectionate terms to the memory of the late king, communicated the decision of the home government on the state of the province, based upon the report of the commissioners, which in effect was a direct refusal to accede

to the direct demands and proposals of the Assembly as regards reconstituting the Legislative Council. It was only proposed to make some popular change in its composition, but not to make it elective, and united action on the part of the legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada on the question of trade and commerce was suggested.

The terms of this Imperial despatch, as might be anticipated, was not acceptable to the Assembly in its present mood, consequently that body reaffirmed its decision to reabandon entirely all their functions in a legislative capacity. His Excellency then prorogued the House, which never met again.

Agitation and preparation for actual hostilities was in progress between the adherents of the Assembly on the one side and those of the Legislative and Executive Councils on the other side.

His Excellency, who had been hoping for conciliation and was therefore loth to take any steps to stem the agitation for which he has probably been unjustly blamed in some quarters, now issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Lower Canada, setting forth that all grievances were either being now or would be redressed, and warned the people against being misled by agitation. The bishops and clergy generally called upon their flocks to desist from these agitations.

Immediately after the appearance of this proclamation Messrs. Leslie and Papineau waited upon His Excellency at Quebec to suggest the expediency of an immediate convocation of parliament, but the governor-general most unfortunately declined the experiment to summon another parliament, upon the rea-

sonable presumption that it would be useless in the light of his recent experiences with that refractory body. It will never be known what the effect of another session might have been. There is no doubt, however, that Mr. Papineau, if so disposed, and he was probably so disposed, would, owing to his great influence, have effected a compromise between His Excellency and the Assembly even at the eleventh hour; but he was unfortunately not afforded the opportunity to try his hand at conciliation. Mr. Leslie returned to Montreal and Mr. Papineau proceeded to Europe *via* the Kennebec road, no doubt regretting the rising of the storm, which in his hot-headedness he helped to raise. A rising was now imminent, and His Excellency issued another proclamation placing the district of Montreal under martial law, and offering a reward of $4,000 for the arrest of Mr. Papineau, and also a reward of $2,000 each for the arrest of Messrs. O'Collaghan, Cote, Scott, Girouard, Rodier and Trolet, and of $400 each for the arrest of some private citizens.

A considerable panic now ensued, and the military and volunteer militia were brought into requisition. The farcical rebellion was speedily suppressed, but not without a regrettable loss of life; many prisoners were taken, which overflowed the jails. An outbreak of minor proportions had also taken place in Upper Canada for somewhat similar cause, to which reference will be made when dealing with the administrative history of that province. These high-handed disturbances in Lower and Upper Canada were condemned by all parties in the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Qualified

expressions to that end were given at public meetings in those provinces.

Lord Gosford was despairing of all hope of conciliating the hostile factions, or of even restoring tranquility, and suggested his own recall, a suspension of the constitution, and the placing of the affairs of the province in other hands not pledged as he was to a mild and conciliatory policy. These wise suggestions were approved, and Sir John Colborne, as the senior military officer of the forces in Lower and Upper Canada, and who so promptly and effectively put down the rebellion, was appointed to assume the reins of government, and issued a salutary proclamation to the inhabitants of the province, enjoining all who had any part in the unfortunate rising to deliver up all arms in their possession to the nearest magistrate within one month.

He organized a temporary government by means of a special council comprised of twenty-two members, equally of French and English-speaking gentlemen, as follows:

District of Quebec.—Messrs. De Lerey, Stuart, Neilson, Walker, Dionne, Casgrain and Leterrier.

District of Montreal.—Messrs. Pothier, McGill, Rocheblanc, Gerrard, Quesnel, Christie, Penn, Molson, Cuthbert, Joliette, Smith, Knowlton and Fairbault.

District of Three Rivers.—Messrs. Dionne and Mayrand.

The volunteer militia were meanwhile disbanded.

News reached Canada early in March of the suspension of the constitution, and the appointment of John George Lambton, M.P., Earl of Durham, as

high commissioner and governor-general, for the adjustment of certain important affairs affecting the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, and also of the approval of the home government of the conduct of both Lord Gosford and Sir John Colborne.

The new governor-general, Lord Durham, was a statesman of marked ability. His characteristics were, however, rather a strange mixture, he being at one and the same time a haughty aristocrat, and a pronounced radical; he was also reputed to be somewhat arbitrary and domineering in manner before coming here, and thereby incurred the enmity, it is said, of some of his peers in the political arena of the Mother Country.

His appointment to the government of the Canadas was universally hailed with delight, at least on this side of the Atlantic, and he would most probably have proved to be the right man in the right place had he been loyally supported by the very men who were responsible for his appointment; but he was not so supported. He was to have had a free hand for at least five years to cope with the almost insuperable difficulties, but he only remained in Canada five months owing to the meddlesome conduct and criticisms of members of the Imperial houses of parliament as to his doings in Canada. But to return to a narrative of his brief but useful career, and recommendations as administrator.

He arrived at Quebec in great state on the 29th May, 1838, in Her Majesty's ship "Hastings," and was met at the landing by Sir John Colborne and the whole military staff, and a vast concourse of the inhabitants, who repeatedly cheered his lordship.

After being sworn into office he issued an important proclamation to the people of Lower Canada, citing at length his mission to restore harmony, and to endeavor to re-establish constitutional government on a satisfactory basis. He said: "If you on your side will abjure all party and sectarian animosities and unite with me in the blessed work of peace and harmony, I feel assured that I can lay the foundation of such a system of government as will protect the rights and interests of all classes, allay all dissensions, and permanently establish under Divine Providence the wealth, greatness and prosperity of which such inexhaustible elements are to be found in these fertile countries."

The next act of His Excellency was to require from the attorney-general without delay a return of the names and number of persons in confinement in the jails and also of warrants still in the hands of magistrates for the part they had taken in the late troubles.

A circular, in courteous terms, was addressed to the several members of the Executive Council acquainting them that for the present their services would not be required, and the special council was also by letters patent dissolved. The expediency of dispensing with the services of every officer and member of these councils may be open to doubt.

His Excellency then called the following gentlemen, chiefly of his own staff, to constitute his Executive Council, Charles Buller, his chief secretary; Mr. Turton, his own secretary; Colonel Cooper, military secretary; Mr. Daly, provincial secretary; Mr. Routh, commissary-general; Sir John Dorritt, inspector of hospitals; Colonel the Hon. Charles Grey, of the 71st

Regiment, was appointed attache to the high commissioner. It has been stated in the Mother Country that the appointment of Mr. Turton and Mr. Wakefield for employment by His Excellency was for some particular reason a mistake.

The citizens of Quebec waited upon His Excellency with a congratulatory address, with which he was much pleased. In the course of his reply he enunciated a policy of justice and mercy toward the guilty and mercy toward the misguided.

He appointed a committee to inquire into the present mode of disposing of the Crown lands in Lower Canada, and some practices inimicable to actual settlers were detected. He also appointed other useful commissioners to inquire into educational, judicial, commercial and other matters. He recommended responsible parliamentary government, and the establishment of municipal government, the building of a trunk line of railway from the seaboard of the Maritime Provinces to Lake Huron, the union of the provinces, and finally a larger scheme of union to embrace in one confederation all of the British-American provinces, to be designated British America, and not Canada. His report is a statesmanlike and masterly document, filling several hundred pages of a blue book. All departments and interests received minute and careful attention, and most of his suggestions and recommendations have since been carried out. While he personally took a general oversight of all reports and researches, it is said that Mr. Edward Gibbons Wakefield and Mr. Adam Thom had very much to do with the report upon the condition of Lower Canada affairs, the tenor of which was not

pleasing generally to the French-speaking people. It was alleged that many of the difficulties were not a question of party politics in Lower Canada, but rather a mutual case of anti-French and anti-English. Mr. Buller has been credited with being largely responsible for the report upon the condition of Upper Canada, the contents of which were adversely criticised by Sir Francis Bond Head and W. H. Draper, as being too pessimistic as regards the finances of the province, and also as being unduly partial to the Reformers of Upper Canada, where it was really, the report asserts, a case of party politics and not of races, as in the other province. The source of His Excellency's unhappiness in Canada emanated from the Mother Country, and arose from the difficult task of dealing with the case of prisoners who were charged with participation in the unfortunate rising familiarly known as the Papineau rebellion. It was found to be next to impossible to find a jury in Montreal willing to convict political prisoners. His Excellency, therefore, finally decided upon a novel, and what they deemed in the simplicity of their hearts to be a rational and common-sense mode yet unknown to the criminal code of disposing of prisoners. To begin with, the following prominent and otherwise respectable prisoners, confined in the Montreal jail, were charged with high treason, namely, Messrs. Bouchette, Wolfred Nelson, Des Rivieres, Masson, Gauvin, Marchessault, Godin and B. Viger. These men were privately approached by some person in the interest of the government with a suggestion that it would be to their interest to plead guilty as a matter of policy. The prisoners took a short time to consider

the overture, and under the natural supposition that they would be either set free or dealt with leniently, acquiesced in the suggestion. But judge of the surprise and disappointment of these gentlemen to find that they were summarily sentenced by the executive to transportation to Bermuda, upon pain of death without trial should any return without permission. As to some thirteen other gentlemen, including the distinguished statesman of later times, Sir George Etienne Cartier, who had absconded from Canada, it was decreed also that if any of them returned without permission, death penalties would be incurred. His Excellency was evidently now out of his element in posing as a dispenser of criminal justice.

When the news of these most extraordinary proceedings reached the Mother Country, Lord Durham's old antagonists were evidently delighted at the opportunity of humbling the proud spirit of the haughty earl, and made all the fuss they possibly could over the transaction.

The first step taken by the Imperial government in the embarrassing situation was to disallow the ordinance, and to pass an Act of indemnity and amnesty. It is not stated who apologized to the governor of Bermuda for the liberty taken with that dependency in sending prisoners there without permission, which made His Excellency and his advisers feel very foolish. The several speakers in both the Lords and Commons in the debates over the irregular and illegal transactions did not spare the feelings and the reputation of the proud nobleman, who was not present to defend himself, and had very few friends in parlia-

ment save Lord John Russell and one or two more bold enough to defend him. Nearly all the subsequent despatches from the home government to His Excellency were generally of a disagreeable nature, which told severely upon his proud and sensitive nature, from which he never fully recovered.

His Excellency, with the Countess of Durham, family and suite, paid a visit to the principal places in Upper Canada, enjoying the tour very much, and received a continuous ovation during a tour of nearly a month. He was a princely entertainer, and lost no opportunity of promoting good-will between the people of the United States whom he chanced to meet near the border, and the people of his own country.

Meantime His Excellency had invited Sir John Harvey, lieut.-governor of New Brunswick; Sir Colin Campbell, lieut.-governor of Nova Scotia; and Sir C. Fitzroy, lieut.-governor of Prince Edward Island, to visit him at Quebec to discuss the expediency of a confederation of the provinces. These gentlemen kindly responded to the invitation. The delegates from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island appeared to favor the idea of union, but those from New Brunswick were reported to be unfavorable. During an interview with these gentlemen the painful topic of the disallowance of his ordinances in the matter of the prisoners chanced to be touched upon, which caused His Excellency to be quite overcome with emotion, for which he apologized to his guests, who were themselves also deeply affected over the pathetic scene. No secret was now made of His Excellency's determination to return to Britain as early as possible.

Complimentary addresses from all parts of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island poured in upon him.

A few prisoners, not included in aforementioned lists were subsequently tried in the civil courts for treason, and acquitted by the jurors, thus confirming the anticipation of His Excellency in the belief that no conviction could have been obtained in the civil courts.

Several ordinances for the establishment of a much needed police system in the cities of Montreal and Quebec, and for other needed purposes, were passed by the council.

Before leaving Canada His Excellency performed a gracious act of justice towards Mr. James Stuart, by restoring him to the bench from which he had been removed by Lord Aylmer, it is said, as a sacrifice to propitiate an ungrateful majority in the Assembly who were opposed to Mr. Stuart.

His Excellency was a true friend of Canada. In a moment of deep distress of mind he was heard to say that the Canadians at any rate will do justice to my memory, a prophecy which has been all along and will continue to be fulfilled until the end of time.

His Excellency sailed for Britain with his family in November, leaving Sir John Colborne in charge of the government.

Every demonstration was shown Lord Durham on the eve of his departure, nor did any man in his situation ever leave Canada more deeply or universally regretted than did this gentleman. His services to Canada did not end with his departure from its shores. He, however, did not very long survive his return to Britain.

Government of Sir John Colborne.

Sir John Colborne having again assumed the government, in November, 1838, summoned, with two exceptions, the former members of the special council to his assistance.

Unfortunately a second insurrection was now propagated by some fugitive so-called patriots, who had taken refuge in the neighboring States of New York and Vermont, and who were aided by American sympathizers with the object of invading Canada at various points in both provinces. The departure of Lord Durham seems to have been agreed upon as the period for commencing operations, first at Beauharnois, in the district of Montreal.

Sir John Colborne declared, by proclamation, martial law to be in force in that district, and a number of arrests of prominent men were made. The insurrection was speedily suppressed by Sir John Colborne, but not without some unfortunate loss of life and the wanton destruction of much property belonging in many cases to innocent persons. Twelve prisoners, taken with arms, were tried by court-martial, and suffered the extreme penalty. Others were transported to New South Wales, and pardoned at the end of five years. As regards the political prisoners who were to be tried in the regular court of justice, Sir John Colborne had doubts of getting a conviction, and after some legal subtleties had arisen the prisoners finally got free. The acting governor-general, however, by an act of military power, suspended Judges Valliers, Panet and Bedard, for declaring the writs issued upon hearing evidence to be *ultra vires*. These judges appealed to the home government, and

were reinstated two years later, with their salaries allowed during suspension, thus demonstrating, according to these judges, that the valiant Sir John Colborne was not a much better lawyer than the chivalrous Lord Durham.

In January, Sir John Colborne received a commission appointing him governor-general. The special council had been in session two months, and passed sixty-seven ordinances, a portion of which were important and beneficial amendments to previous laws.

Lord John Russell now gave notice in the House of Commons of certain resolutions relating to the proposed union of the Canadas. He, however, upon the suggestion of Sir Robert Peel, introduced a bill at once; but a strong protest against the union having come from Upper Canada, it is supposed from the chief justice of that province, Sir J. B. Robinson, the bill was discussed and favorably received, but allowed to stand over until the next session. The legislature of Upper Canada had meanwhile declared strongly in favor of the proposed union, which they wisely said would place Canada in that elevated position contemplated by Lord Durham with the least delay and difficulty.

Government of Lord Sydenham (Poulett Thompson).

The Right Hon. Poulett Thompson, president of the Board of Trade, having been appointed governor-general of Canada, arrived at Quebec in October, 1839, Sir John Colborne taking his departure by the return of the same ship. The retiring governor was highly esteemed, both in Canada and Britain, and was at

once raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Seaton.

The timber merchants of Quebec had some misgivings about the appointment of Mr. Thompson, who was pecuniarily interested in the Baltic timber trade, and might, it was surmised, have a leaning towards the Baltic timber interests. However, he was tendered a most hearty welcome on account of the important mission of uniting the two Canadas, and a plea was put in the address by the citizens of Quebec claiming that city to be the most suitable capital of Canada. The special council at this time held its meetings in Montreal.

His Excellency made but a short stay in Quebec, proceeding to Montreal to lay the union schemes before the council, by which it was approved. After placing the government of Lower Canada temporarily in charge of Sir R. D. Jackson, chief commander of the forces, His Excellency proceeded to Toronto, Upper Canada, and superseded Sir George Arthur temporarily. Some pleasant functions and ceremonies of a preliminary character took place. The legislature was opened by the governor-general on 3rd of December, 1839, in a very solicitous speech, during which the union of the Canadas was the chief topic. The speech was well received and favorably responded to by the Assembly, which had already pledged itself to the proposed union.

A narrative of the proceedings and deliberations in connection with the proposed union of Lower and Upper Canada will follow in the closing chapters of the political history of Upper Canada.

CHAPTER VIII.

UPPER CANADA.

Government of General Hunter, 1799.

We resume a somewhat condensed outline of administration in Upper Canada, now under Major-General Hunter, as lieutenant-governor, during whose regime some very useful legislation was passed, establishing several ports of entry for the collection of custom dues, encouraging the culture of hemp, improving the defences of the country, etc. His Honor was but an indifferent statesman, and the inhabitants were too much occupied with the initial struggles of pioneer settlement to take much interest in politics, more especially as there was no newspaper excepting the official *Gazette* at that time published in the province; and, moreover, the people were very lightly taxed, consequently the budding oligarchy were having it all their own way. Under this condition of affairs many abuses crept into the administration of the public service, notwithstanding the personal respectability of the members of the executive, which continued unchallenged for years; finally, when some inquiring minds began to call attention to these abuses the executive resented any interference with their imaginary rights of doing as they pleased; critics with too inquiring minds were sometimes rewarded with the hospitality of the common jails.

His Honor died in his fifty-ninth year, during his gubernatorial term, while out on a military inspection tour in 1805, his physical constitution having been impaired by severe military service in his earlier days.

Alexander Grant, the senior member of the Executive Council, assumed charge of the administration, and opened the session in February, 1806. Seven useful Acts were passed during the session, and $6,400 was appropriated for the construction of roads and bridges. Provision was made for the appointment of parish and township officers, and for the assessment and collection of municipal rates.

Government of Sir Francis Gore, 1806.

Meanwhile the Honorable Francis Gore was sent out from the Mother Country to assume the government of the province. Sir Francis was a gentleman of high personal worth, but knew nothing of the country or its wants. He consequently soon fell under the influence of the oligarchy. One of the first critics of the administration was Justice Thorpe, a respectable lawyer, sent out by the Imperial government as one of the judges of the King's Bench.

The judge soon became very popular with the people, but was an object of dislike to the executive party, who did all in their power to prejudice the lieut.-governor against him. Judges at this time were eligible to sit in the House of Assembly, and Thorpe being invited by the electors of the Home district to become a candidate, committed the mistake of entering into politics. The executive made every possible effort to defeat him at the polls, but he was triumphantly

elected, which infuriated the oligarchy, who vindictively dismissed all Thorpe's sympathizers from office. The solitary government newspaper denounced the judge in the most abusive manner, which led to the establishment of an independent newspaper, the *Upper Canada Guardian*. So the war between the rival parties now commenced. Mr. Willcocks, a man of respectable Irish parentage, who was dismissed from the shrievalty of the Home district for supporting Justice Thorpe, became editor of the new paper. Willcocks was shortly afterward elected to parliament, and was speedily thrust into jail—a miserable log hut—by the oligarchy for making too free criticism of its affairs. The imprisonment made him more popular than ever. He was a leading member of the Assembly when the war of 1812 was declared between the United States and Great Britain. He shouldered his musket as a volunteer in the British service at Queenston; still the government treated him harshly, which goaded him into committing the unpardonable mistake of deserting to the enemy. As to Justice Thorpe he was, at the instance of the lieut.-governor recalled by the home government. He sued the lieut.-governor for libel, and obtained a verdict for a small sum. The oligarchy had now got rid of two troublesome critics in the persons of Thorpe and Willcocks.

His Honor Lieut.-Governor Gore's first session of parliament was satisfactory to all concerned. Liberal grants, considering these early times, were made for education, roads, bridges, etc. Some good legislation, including a bill to increase the number of members in the Assembly from sixteen to twenty-five, was enacted.

The province continued to prosper, both in the increase of population and commerce. A very low rate of customs duties produced $28,000, chiefly upon groceries, as the bulk of the inhabitants manufactured their own wearing apparel.

During the year 1811 His Honor requested leave of absence to visit England, which was granted. The gallant General Isaac Brock was appointed administrator during the lieut.-governor's temporary absence.

Meanwhile the relations between Great Britain and the Democratic government of the United States was unfortunately straining to the breaking point, which finally culminated in the wicked and foolish declaration of war on the part of the United States Congress, a course which apparently did not represent the feelings of a majority of the better class of Americans.

General Brock called the legislature together early in February, 1812, and requested a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the passing of a supplementary Military Act. This the Assembly were loth to do, under the natural supposition that Congress would not resort to the extreme length of declaring war; but as soon as matters appeared more serious the legislation asked for was cheerfully passed, and $20,000 voted for the training of the militia. Still the heroic Brock was most scantily supplied with arms and ammunition to cope with a well-equipped army, numbering twenty-seven to one of the Canadians. The Americans followed up the declaration of war against Great Britain by a speedy invasion of Upper Canada. The administrator, General Brock, promptly took the field to oppose the progress of the enemy, losing his own valuable life at the battle of

Queenston, greatly to the regret of the Canadian people.

The legislature was convoked the following year, 1813, by General Sheaffe as president, and several necessary bills were passed, such as the legalizing of the army bills issued in Lower Canada, the temporary prohibition of the exportation and distilling of grain, lest an undue scarcity of food might ensue, etc.

Pensions were granted to the widows and orphans of militiamen killed in the war, and a wise enactment passed, prohibiting the sale of liquor to Indians. York, now Toronto, being left in a comparatively defenceless position, owing to the scarcity of troops, was sacked by some armed vessels and troops of the enemy.

The legislature met in York on the 15th February, 1814, and enacted several useful and necessary measures, amongst which was a very effective militia bill, a bill to authorize the issue of government notes for one year. The very liberal appropriation of $24,000 was made in the supply bill for the repairing of roads and bridges. Energetic efforts were made for the maintenance of the struggle at arms with the Americans. The public affairs of the province were at this juncture directed for a short period by Generals Murray and Robinson, pending the return of Lieut.-Governor Gore, who arrived shortly afterwards.

The home government had during the early part of the year offered strong inducements to a superior class of emigrants to settle in Canada, which resulted in the acquisition of a valuable addition to the population of the province. It is to be regretted, however, on the other hand, that settlers from the United

States were not permitted to either acquire lands or take the oath of allegiance in Upper Canada for some time after the blessings of peace had been restored between the two countries, and at a time when the country greatly needed more settlers, of which the United States would have furnished a progressive class. The government, in view of the comparatively recent hostilities with our neighbors to the south, deemed it expedient to exclude them as citizens, a policy which has happily long since passed away.

The legislature was convened early in June, 1816, by Sir Francis Gore, who had returned to Canada. The province already feeling in many respects the beneficent effects of peace, made a forward movement, through its legislature, in the matter of a fairly liberal appropriation for a parliamentary library, for common school education, for the encouragement of hemp culture, and for the self-support of the civil service, which had hitherto been borne by the Imperial government. At the same time some dulness of trade was naturally experienced consequent upon the cessation of the military expenditures and employments.

The legislature met again in 1817. The members of the Assembly were now assuming a more inquisitive state of mind, much dissatisfaction having been felt during the recess with the administration of affairs throughout the province. After the ordinary business of the session was completed, the Assembly, pursuant to notice, went into committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of the province as regards: Firstly, the impolicy of checking immigration from the United States; secondly, the alleged

inefficiency of the post-office system; thirdly, the unsatisfactory land policy. Eleven resolutions of a reasonable nature were based upon these questions, whereupon the lieut.-governor capriciously prorogued parliament, to the great astonishment of the representatives and their constituents, and thereby provoked a genuine grievance throughout the province. About this time the celebrated Robert Gourlay became prominently identified with the agitation for reform, and while he was rather indiscreet in some of the expressions made use of in his interesting book, styled, "Statistical Accounts of Upper Canada," he was nevertheless justified in a great measure by actual facts in his somewhat energetic criticism of public transactions, for which the government, chief justice, and certain magistrates of Upper Canada persecuted him in the most cruel, tyrannical and illegal manner, which was varied only by reimprisonments and banishments, until a physical and mental wreck was made of a man once possessed of an unusually strong body and clear mind. A Mr. Ferguson, publisher of the Niagara *Spectator* newspaper, was imprisoned, pilloried, heavily fined and financially ruined by the government for the publication during his absence of a signed letter criticising the government.

In consequence of the notorious public dissatisfaction with the government, Sir Francis Gore was now recalled, and General Sir Peregrine Maitland succeeded him as lieut-governor of Upper Canada. In the interim, pending the arrival of General Maitland, the Honorable Samuel Smith, a worthy gentleman, acted as administrator.

Government of Sir Peregrine Maitland, 1818.

Lieutenant-Governor Maitland opened parliament in October of 1818. He, like some of his predecessors, was too much under the thumb of the oligarchy to be popular generally with the electors. The executive ruled that the holding of any convention whatever was illegal, and acting under powers granted during the Hunter administration in 1804 to the head of the government, to the Executive and Legislative Councils, and also to the superior court judges, arrests were easily made of any disagreeable individuals, who could also be summarily ordered to depart the country.

The legislature met in June, 1819. The lieut.-governor announced that the home government requested a change of policy in the administration, but that he would take the responsibility of refusing grants of lands to the critics of the government. This stand of His Honor provoked a long debate, and the address was only carried by the casting vote of the Speaker. A feeling of resentment was thus aroused throughout the electorate with a determination to send a hostile majority of members against the government at the next election.

The legislature met again in February of 1820, and passed some popular measures, such as a bill for the taxation of wild lands held for speculation, and removed the restrictions against the holding of conventions, also an Act to regulate commercial intercourse with the United States. Acts were passed to increase the number of members from time to time until the representation totalled fifty-eight members before the union.

The House dissolved in March, and writs were issued for a new election. Five new members, including Bishop Strachan, were called to the Legislative Council. The Bishop had been two years previously appointed an honorary member to both the Executive and Legislative Councils. The result of the election was not very decisive either for or against the government; some good independent men were, however, elected.

The eighth parliament of Canada met on the last day of January, 1821, and elected L. P. Sherwood, of Brockville, for Speaker of the House of Assembly. Chief Justice Powell was appointed to the executive as Speaker of the Legislative Council. His Honor's speech was brief and formal. It was shown that forty new townships had been surveyed within the past two years, which were rapidly filling up with actual settlers. The public finances were, however, in a very depressed condition. An Act was passed to make the currency of the province uniform, and another enacting most wisely that no tithes or ecclesiastical rates should ever be levied in Upper Canada.

The Church of Scotland in Canada applied for a share of the government endowment set apart for the use of the Protestant church of Canada, which the clergy of the Church of England, headed by Bishop Strachan, persisted in entirely monopolizing for themselves, a claim which Richard Cartwright, uncle of Senator Sir Richard Cartwright, although an Episcopalian himself, stoutly combatted as being most unjust. The home government decided against the contention of Bishop Strachan. At this unenlightened period in Canada marriages by the clergy of the

Methodist Church were completely ignored and declared illegal.

The legislature met again in November, 1821. His Honor referred to unsatisfactory divisions of customs dues between Lower and Upper Canada, which was detrimental to the public works of the province then in progress. A bye-election occurred in Lennox and Addington in which Barnabas Bidwell, who had been a resident of Massachusetts, was returned, but expelled from the House by a majority of one vote on the grounds of being an alien and of an alleged shadowy reputation before coming to Canada. A new election was ordered, and a Mr. Clark was elected. Mr. Barnabas Bidwell's son, Marshal Spring Bidwell, offered as a candidate, but was ruled out on the ground of being an alien. The real objection to these men was said to be their sympathy with Robert Gourlay. An Act was now passed to disqualify all Americans who had held any principal public office in the United States. This was specially aimed at Mr. Bidwell who had been an attorney-general in Massachusetts. This enactment was subsequently deemed to be too severe and was amended, making it only necessary for an American ex-official to reside continuously in Canada for seven years and to take the oath of allegiance in order to become a British subject.

The very liberal sum of $8,000 was voted to send the attorney-general to England to press the claim of Upper Canada for a larger share of the customs revenue. A high tax and a lax revenue department had led to much smuggling from the United States, which had a demoralizing effect in some of the trading communities. The scarcity of Canadian currency

had the effect of letting in a large amount of spurious American bills, the circulation of which often proved to be a great loss, more particularly to the agricultural classes, as farm produce did not then bring remunerative prices.

The proposed union by the Imperial parliament of the provinces caused some agitation; one clause of the bill was particularly objectionable—which provided to increase the property qualification of members from £80 to £500, which, if carried into effect, it is said, would have disqualified one-fourth of the sitting members. The opposition to the proposed union emanated chiefly from Lower Canada, and caused the bill to dwindle down to the Canada Trades Act, which merely adjusted the customs difficulty between the two provinces.

The legislature met again in January of 1823. His Honor's speech announced, among other affairs, the success of the attorney-general's mission to England in the matter of the customs regulations with Lower Canada.

A largely signed petition of the electors of Lennox and Addington was presented to the House, representing that Mr. Bidwell the younger was not an alien, and that his candidature had been illegally prevented. The petition was sustained, and a new election ordered, which was contested by Bidwell and Ham. The latter was declared elected before the hour for closing the polls, after a close contest, aided by all the power of the executive.

The project for the construction of the Welland Canal was now brought before the public by the enterprising Mr. W. H. Merritt.

His Honor, during the recess, made some excursions to different parts of the province, drawing upon the receiver-general for all his expenses.

The public mind was now occupied by the approaching general election, and it was manifest that the Reform party would make a strong effort to carry the country, as the feeling was setting in against both the so-called oligarchy and the lieutenant-governor. The opposition press, however, had to keep comparatively quiet under the censorship of the government, as free criticism of the powers would likely involve the pain of arrest and confiscation.

The last session of the existing parliament assembled in November. His Honor's opening speech indicated a tranquil state of society both within and without the legislature, and that the country was emerging from the reaction caused by the termination of the war; but that the revenue was still in rather a depressed condition. The addresses in reply were expressed in the usual stereotyped complimentary style.

A bill passed the Assembly allowing Methodist ministers to solemnize marriages, but was most shamefully rejected in the Legislative Council. An unsuccessful attempt was made on the part of the oligarchical wing of the legislature to suppress Orange processions, as Mr. Ogle R. Gowan, the Grand Master and founder of the Canadian branch of the order, was not then in high favor with the executive, he having disapproved of the administrative methods pursued by the executive. Mr. Gowan was, however, mainly instrumental in frustrating the design of prohibiting the processions.

The management of the banks of Upper Canada at this time apparently catered more for the smiles of the "powers that be" than for the accommodation of legitimate trade and enterprise; consequently the Bank of Kingston failed this year, and the Bank of Upper Canada also commenced to lay the foundation of its future failure by not adhering strictly to the sound banking principles of to-day by assisting only legitimate commerce.

The writs for a general election were issued in June, 1824, and made returnable in August, and a very keen contest ensued, resulting in favor of the Reform party by a small majority, and which included some very able men, such as Dr. John Rolph, M. S. Bidwell, Dr. W. W. Baldwin (who died in 1824 greatly lamented), Capt. Matthews, of Middlesex, and the redoubtable William Lyon Mackenzie. It was during this year that the home government perpetrated the impolicy of chartering the Canada Land Company, a corporation which became a huge land monopoly, comprised of private speculators. Even although conducted, as it was, by highly respectable officers, it nevertheless dealt a heavy blow at the sound policy of "the land for the settler; and the price, if any, be exacted for the public treasury."

The opening of the new year was signalized by a public disaster in the accidental burning down of the modest parliament buildings at Toronto. The library and furniture were, however, fortunately saved.

On the 11th of January, 1825, parliament met in the old General Hospital until the new buildings were erected. Parliament had on a previous occasion met in the ball-room of Jordan's Hotel, and the members

felt well pleased with the palatial accommodation which this afforded them. The Reformers elected one of their number, John Wilson, of Wentworth, as Speaker, by a majority of two votes. The Speaker was a farmer possessed of a good stock of common sense.

His Honor doubtless did not inwardly relish this turn in the fortunes of the oligarchy, and was not very gracious at the Assembly. The sound principles of responsible government unfortunately not yet having been conceded to Canada, His Honor, therefore, independently retained his former Executive Council, who represented the minority in the popular chamber.

The Reform majority in the House, it is alleged, conducted themselves in a cordial, dignified and respectful manner towards His Honor who, however, seemed to feel approaching trouble.

The irresistible Mackenzie controlled a newspaper, the *Colonist Advocate,* which indulged in severe, though at first cautious strictures upon alleged governmental abuses, packed juries, etc. It now unpleasantly dawned upon the executive that another prying Scotchman of the Gourlay stamp had come to disturb their peace of mind.

The debates in the Assembly were unusually protracted, owing to the criticism chiefly of alleged financial abuses. The attorney-general, for instance, not being content with his fixed stipend, was wont, improperly, to make a bill of extras for legal advice to His Honor, etc. Such items were now properly struck out of the estimates by the dominant party in the Assembly, which, however, resulted in the capricious rejection of the supply bill by the Legislative Council in Lower Canada fashion, with possibly

less excuse than had the latter body, seeing that the finances of Upper Canada were in a depressed condition. Only seven bills were passed during an unusually long session. The executive party made some capital very fairly against the Reformers over the costliness of the unduly prolonged session.

Parliament met again in November, 1825, when His Honor's speech and the reply thereto of the Assembly were unusually copious and mutually felicitous. His Honor, pursuant to instructions from the colonial office, recommended a more liberal provision to be made for the naturalization of all foreigners. A bill to this end was passed in the Assembly only to be thrown out by a jingoist majority of the Legislative Council.

Resolutions were adopted declaring the expediency of excluding judges from the Executive Council, and rendering them independent of the government by appointment during good conduct, the same as in the Mother Country. This address was sent to the King.

Thirty-one Acts were passed during the session, besides eighteen other bills thrown out by the Legislative Council, one of which was for repealing the arbitrary Sedition Act, in order to prevent persecutions such as Gourlay had been subjected to. A bounty of five hundred dollars to any paper mills established in the province was authorized.

The favored compact still, in 1826, continued to control both the Executive and Legislative Councils, although in a decided minority in the Assembly. Such a state of matters in the present day would create a tremendous furore among all political parties.

Meanwhile the finances of the country had im-

proved. The receipts were $144,240, and the expenditure $121,412, thus leaving a balance on the right side. The province was, therefore, now in a condition, by exercising reasonable economy, to pay all charges and to relieve the Mother Country of all future expenses of civil government.

The legislature was prorogued about the end of January, 1826, after which His Honor made a tour of a portion of the province, and was well received. Flattering addresses were presented, the wording of which, it is said, was supplied ready-made by the "powers that be," and were certainly not original or spontaneous, and therefore could not properly represent the real feeling of the community. Still the people were patient and industrious, trusting to constitutional means for the redress of governmental abuses. The press at this juncture did not greatly influence the public mind, not many newspapers being published. The postal facilities were both deficient and expensive; even when the postal facilities rendered the weekly newspaper available for subscribers, the postage was four shillings per annum, payable quarterly in advance. The postmasters were, besides, exceedingly lax in their duties. Little wonder then that the newspaper circulation was very restricted.

Mackenzie's newspaper, having meanwhile become more openly violent in its denunciations of the executive, some young off-shoots of the official party broke into the printing office during a temporary absence of Mackenzie, and completely wrecked the office, and threw the type into the lake. His Honor, who was absent at the time, strongly disapproved of the outrage, and at once dismissed one of the clerks, Captain

Lyons, for taking part in the mean and cowardly affair. Mackenzie's direct and indirect losses were computed at $8,000, for which he sued the aggressors, but only obtained a verdict for $2,500, which amount was raised by a subscription collected by Colonel FitzGibbon, who was then appointed clerk of the Assembly, to the great disgust of the Reform members in the House. The dismissed clerk Lyons was made registrar of the Niagara district, and Mr. J—, the alleged chief ringleader of the mob, and others were provided with good situations. As these appointments could not be made without the sanction of His Honor, his reputation for impartiality and propriety as an administrator suffered greatly.

Mackenzie re-established his newspaper, but unfortunately was as rabid and hot-headed as ever, which eventually proved disastrous to himself and to several other good men. While he in all sincerity advocated a righteous cause, and while the government really deserved severe censure, more moderation would have served a better purpose for all concerned; but poor Mackenzie's temperament was not constituted like that of Mr. Baldwin, and some other Reformers, who did not go to the same dangerous lengths for the redressing of the grievances to which Mackenzie finally resorted. It is only justice, however, to say that no other Reformer since the days of Gourlay was so greatly persecuted as Mackenzie.

Parliament was again called for December, 1826. His Honor's opening speech referred to the satisfactory progress in public improvement, and the contented condition of the people which he had personally witnessed during his recent tour. The majority in the

Assembly, in the face of more or less public grievances, could not agree with His Honor's statement regarding the alleged perfect contentment of the people, and while they did not flatly contradict His Honor's statement on this point, they, however, directly censured his conduct in receiving and replying to addresses during that very tour, which reflected upon the Assembly. His Honor retorted that the conduct of the Assembly in this particular matter was both unprecedented and discourteous, and maintained the propriety of his conduct during the tour. The incident was doubtless a surprise to His Honor, as no Assembly in Upper Canada had hitherto had the presumption to criticise the public etiquette of a lieutenant-governor. Some permanent friction was naturally engendered over this squabble. The lieutenant-governor was certainly within his right in receiving and replying to ordinary addresses; but if the addresses contained a reflection upon the Assembly, which appears to have been the case, it was His Honor's bounden duty to resent that portion of the addresses, which he apparently did not do.

Several bills were enacted, and discussions entered into upon the naturalization laws, and the clergy reserves, etc. Some excitement arose over the right to a small strip of water frontage at Niagara Falls, which the proprietor of the front lots claimed as part of his holding and which he enclosed with his other property. It appeared, however, that the Crown had reserved one chain in width along the river bank in the usual way. Captain Philpotts, the engineer in charge of that district was ordered by the executive to see that the space was kept open. The owner of

the land next the river refused to remove the fence, whereupon Capt. Philpotts had it forcibly pulled down. This military violence was condemned by the Reform press, which was now apparently only too eager to prejudice the action of the executive in not having taken legal steps instead of violent proceedings in the case. The contention of the press was concurred in by the home government in a despatch to the lieutenant-governor. As much discord and ill-feeling had been aroused over the case it rather persistently became a subject of investigation by a special committee of the House, who proceeded to summon two officers of the civil service as witnesses. His Honor directed the witnesses not to give evidence, whereupon the Assembly committed the witnesses to jail, and reported in favor of compensation to the land-owner for the loss of crops and the destruction of his fence, with an unfavorable comment upon His Honor's arbitrary conduct.

Party spirit was now (1827) unfortunately becoming more intense. His Honor seemed an adept at making enemies, as the following instance will show: A vacancy having occurred in the position of King's Printer, a well-qualified and excellent young man named Collins applied for the vacant position, which was in the gift of the lieutenant-governor. He was curtly told, however, by His Honor that the office would only be conferred upon a *gentleman*. Collins, up to this time, had taken no part in politics. He now succeeded in founding the *Freeman* newspaper, which became a veritable thorn in the flesh of His Honor and the attorney-general. It was at length resolved by the executive to crush him. He had a printing

account against the Assembly for $454, which was certified to by that body; but His Honor would not allow payment, and Collins, being poor, with a family to support, could not well afford to do without the money. In despair he vented his anger against His Honor, going rather too far in his denunciations, for all of which he was tried in the King's Bench and fined $200 with a year's imprisonment. His friends paid the fine and petitioned King George IV. for his release from jail, as His Honor would do nothing. The king acceded to their petition with an order for a refund of the fine; but these trials told so severely upon the physical and mental condition of Collins that he never regained his pristine vigor. He died of cholera five years later and his paper, the *Freeman,* died with him. A newly arrived judge, Mr. Willis, sent out from England, having sympathized with Collins, and being otherwise at variance with the chief justice, incurred the hostility of the executive, and was transferred to a judgeship in Demerara.

The home government was at length convinced that His Honor's usefulness in Upper Canada was gone, and decided to transfer him to the lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia.

The supply bill having been voted the legislature was prorogued in March, 1828. The general elections took place in the autumn, the Reformers sweeping the province from end to end, a very pronounced refutation of His Honor's recent declaration that the people were quite content with the existing state of matters. His regime in Upper Canada closed in a state of unpopularity in the estimation of a large majority of the people.

Government of Sir John Colborne, 1829.

Major-General Sir John Colborne assumed the government in November. He having declared that his instructions were to govern upon a liberal policy, much was therefore expected of him.

The new parliament was convened in January of 1829, and Mr. M. S. Bidwell was chosen Speaker of the Assembly by a majority of three over Mr. Wilson, the former Speaker, and of the same political party, a very unusual occurrence, which could not have taken place under the system of responsible government, where the Speaker is proposed by the Premier, and the government must stand or fall by its nominee.

The speech from the throne was very guarded and non-committal. In the reply of the Assembly, the executive, apart from His Honor personally, came in for a complete overhauling, upon which His Honor remarked: "That it was less difficult to discover the traces of political dissensions and local jealousies in the colony than to efface them." Reading between the lines it will be seen that complaints of the above nature were unwelcome to him.

The House then settled down to business and many bills were passed, twenty-one of which were thrown out by the Legislative Council. No restraint could be imposed by the Assembly upon that body in the matter of supplies, as the particular funds immediately under the control of the executive had increased sufficiently to pay the salaries of all office-holders independent of the Assembly. The latter body, however, passed strong resolutions claiming control of all the funds; but under the existing system of government,

and exceptional circumstances, the executive was master of the situation.

About this time Lord Stanley presented a petition to the Imperial authorities on behalf of 3,110 inhabitants of Toronto, praying that the judges in Upper Canada might be placed on the same permanent footing as in the Mother Country. In the same petition a hope was also opportunely expressed that the province might now have the blessing of a responsible system of government extended to Upper Canada, Thus for the first time in Canada the responsible system of administration loomed up.

In Lower Canada the agitation instead was for making the Legislative Council elective, as a panacea for all evils. In this respect the younger community of Upper Canada was greatly in advance of the much older one of Lower Canada. Parliament prorogued in March.

Attorney-General Robinson having accepted the chief justiceship of the province, a vacancy occurred in the representation of York. Mr. Robert Baldwin—whom we shall meet again in the capacity of a prominent, capable and upright statesman—then twenty-five years of age, successfully contested the election, polling ninety-two votes to his opponent's (Mr. Small) fifty-one. Mark the contrast in the number of parliamentary votes now polled in Toronto, which in the provincial election of 1902 totalled about thirty thousand votes.

Mr. Mackenzie by his intemperate opposition to Mr. Small got himself into a libel suit.

His Honor made a tour of the province during the summer, and was the recipient of many addresses, but

being more of a soldier than a talker, merely replied, "I receive your address with satisfaction, and thank you for congratulations"—certainly a safe response to make; but what a contrast to the elaborate and eloquent speeches of Lords Elgin, Dufferin and other governor-generals, who have since so ably presided over Canada.

The Reverend Egerton Ryerson about this time founded the *Christian Guardian* newspaper, a journal which has achieved marvellous success, and is still full of vigor and usefulness, as the chief organ of the great Canadian Methodist Church.

The Welland Canal, constructed through Canadian enterprise, was opened for traffic near the close of the season, which marked a most important epoch in the history of the province, and proved to be a most beneficial public work for both provinces and as well for the northern portion of several states of the great Union. The completion of the Rideau Canal by the Imperial government soon followed, which afforded an uninterrupted, although circuitous, water route to the seaboard for small vessels without breaking bulk.

The legislature met in January of 1830, when His Honor informed the House that the revenue at the disposal of the executive exceeded the sum required to pay all the salaries in the public service. The Assembly, in reply, again claimed the right to dispose of the revenue, and at the same time coolly expressed a strong desire for a purer administration of justice, and for the dismissal of the Executive Council, to which His Honor merely replied: "I thank you for your address." Which certainly was as satisfactory a reply as they deserved.

The Assembly essayed a very considerable amount of legislation, which was thrown out wholesale by the Legislative Council; still several useful bills were concurred in—one Act in particular provided remuneration for the war losses. A loan was granted for the Welland Canal, to repair some locks which had given away.

The inhabitants of the rural districts were meanwhile deeply engrossed in agricultural pursuits and improvements in connection therewith, thereby adding to the solid wealth of the province.

The death of George IV. having occurred, a dissolution followed in accordance with the constitutional usages of the time, and a general election now ensued. Party lines were now being tightly drawn. A small Conservative party had been evolved in the ranks of the Assembly, which now joined hands with the executive party. This union constituted a somewhat formidable body, the members of which held every office of emolument and influence in the province, and also controlled the pocket boroughs. Many of the government or Conservative party candidates were office-holders, such as collectors of customs, sheriffs, registrars, revenue commissioners, inspectors of taverns, and distillery licensees, postmasters, clerks of the Crown, etc. No holders of such offices would now be eligible for election, and some of the positions would disqualify the holders from even voting.

The electorate had largely increased since the previous general election by new arrivals. With these decided advantages in their favor the Conservatives carried the country. The legislature met in January of 1831, and elected Archibald McLean, Speaker of

the House. He held also at the same time the office of clerk of the Crown at Cornwall. Mr. McLean was otherwise personally a talented, upright, and highly respectable gentleman of commanding presence. He subsequently filled the high position of chief justice of the province, and was greatly revered for his distinguished ability, dignity and lofty character.

The defeated party were in no mood to allow the accidents and circumstances of the recent general election to pass unopposed. Mr. W. L. Mackenzie in moving for a special committee to inquire into the state of legislative representation, stated that more than one member represented constituencies with less than thirty votes; that his colleague in the riding, with himself, and the member for Lanark, represented a larger number of electors than fifteen other members of the Assembly. The speaker made a savage attack upon the dominant party, accusing them of abuse of power, corruption and all manner of improprieties, including the alleged mismanagement of the Bank of Upper Canada. His denunciations and his fiery invectives in the House were echoed in his newspaper. Meetings were held throughout the country at which resolutions were passed in condemnation of the executive. The dominant party in the meantime were scrutinizing Mr. Mackenzie's conduct for an opportunity of expelling him from the House. Finally it was supposed that the time had arrived, and a motion to that end found a majority in the Assembly, and Mackenzie was expelled accordingly, but was re-elected triumphantly. This series of proceedings was repeated five times, evoking great sympathy for Mackenzie, both in his constituency and

throughout the country. His constituency presented him with a gold medal, valued at £60. The one side of the medal was ornamented with a rose, thistle and shamrock, encircled by the words: "His Majesty King William IV., the people's friend." On the reverse side: "Presented to William L. Mackenzie, Esq., by his constituents of York, U.C., as a token of their appreciation of his political career. Jan. 2nd, 1832." The proceedings against Mackenzie aroused more public demonstrations in favor of the liberty of the press, and secured many new adherents to his cause. It is on record that the colonial minister intimated to Mr. Mackenzie at one time that it might be arranged for the latter to participate in the post-office revenue of the country, then under control of the Imperial government; but Mr. Mackenzie declined the kind offer. The postal revenue of the province was then $60,000 annually. The revenue of Toronto post-office alone is now $1,000,000 annually.

His Honor was petitioned to dissolve a body tainted, as it was said to be, with the worst vices of judicial partiality. Nearly one thousand petitioners waited upon His Honor at Government House for a reply, to which he curtly responded: "Gentlemen, I have received the petition of the inhabitants." The crowd then departed peacefully from Government House, but hooted the parliament house; cheered Mackenzie's dwelling and the *Guardian* newspaper office. Dr. Ryerson was a warm supporter of Mr. Mackenzie until the latter went too far on the road to revolution.

A large public meeting was now convened in Toronto, at which petitions were signed asking the

home government for the removal of His Honor and certain members of the Executive Council; that the Legislative Council be made elective; that the constituencies be equalized; that education be promoted; that the Crown Lands Department be reformed, and other needed reforms were enumerated. It was also resolved to depute Mackenzie as the bearer of these petitions direct to the Imperial government. Mackenzie, after a narrow escape from being murdered, sailed for Britain, where he met with partial success. His expulsion from the House was condemned, and the dismissal of both the attorney-general and solicitor-general was ordered. The other prayers of the petition were not acceded to. The solicitor-general followed Mackenzie to England in self defence, and succeeded by his explanation in getting himself reinstated. The attorney-general was not, however, permitted to return to his office, but was appointed to a judgeship in Newfoundland, where he got into trouble and was dismissed from all government employment.

All these proceedings, as may be supposed, were provocative of considerable excitement and party feeling. Some wholesome legislation was enacted whereby the judiciary was placed upon its present sound and independent basis. Immigration to the province continued very heavy during the season of navigation, and was chiefly of a desirable class. As an instance, three hundred thousand sovereigns were deposited by these people in the Bank of Upper Canada in one summer. However, there were exceptions to this gratifying addition to the population in the cholera year, which resulted not only in the death of many of the immigrants themselves, but also in

introducing the terrible epidemic among the healthy residents and natives of the province, causing many deaths, until the cool weather of the fall set in. His Honor called a session of the legislature for October, 1833, and alluded to the completion of the Rideau Canal, to the rapid increase of population, and to the almost complete disappearance of the cholera.

The town of York in March, 1834, was incorporated into a city, and the name changed to Toronto. Mackenzie was chosen its first mayor, and Dr. Rolph elected as an alderman, but did not sit. It is not on record that Mackenzie was especially well adapted for municipal life, but rather the reverse, and about this time he did a very indiscreet and improper act in publishing a private letter which he received from that radical and religious sceptic, Joseph Hume, a member of the Imperial parliament. The publication of this letter cost Mackenzie the loss of a host of sympathizers. Many of his Reform associates wisely and promptly repudiated his ill-advised correspondence with Hume.

An exciting general election now took place in October of 1834. The executive party, though discredited in the country, based strong hopes that the Mackenzie-Hume correspondence would defeat the Reformers, who, however, carried the province by a majority of ten in a House of fifty-eight members.

The legislature met in January of 1835, and elected Mr. Bidwell as Speaker, and adopted the famous report known as a Seventh Grievance Report, which recommended, among other good reforms, the adoption of a responsible system of government.

The executive was beginning to realize that the

halcyon days of oligarchical government was doomed in the near future, and proceeded while they yet had power to make liberal provision for the future wants of the Church of England—then a comparatively small body in the province—by setting apart fifty-seven rectories from the clergy reserves, and put in possession of clergymen, many of whom were practically without congregations, lest they might be ousted by any subsequent legal enactment. This game of grab, as may be anticipated, produced a sensation and evoked ill feeling towards His Honor and the Executive Council.

The Assembly again agreed upon a memorial to the Home Government, setting forth the arbitrary conduct of the Executive Council. The home government had become convinced that there was some real ground for the contention of the Reform party; that His Honor allowed himself to be led too much by the chief justice and bishop. It was, therefore, determined to recall Sir John Colborne, particularly as he himself desired to be relieved.

It was now a period in the history of Upper Canada when the selection on the part of the home government of an experienced statesman possessing tact, moderation and independence, was most imperative. No such good selection however, was made in the choice of a successor to Sir John Colborne. So little heed was then given to the critical state of matters in Upper Canada that the commission was, by an oversight, made out to the wrong man, and unfortunately to the one having the least administrative experience; the two men were cousins with the same surname—Head. It was intended that Sir Edmund

Walker Head should have been appointed, but the commission went to Sir Francis Bond Head, an assistant poor law commissioner, who has himself said that he was very much surprised to receive the appointment.

Somehow an unfounded rumor preceded the new lieutenant-governor that he was an advanced old Liberal, whereupon Mackenzie committed the grave impropriety of heralding the lieutenant-governor's coming in large posters describing him as a tried Reformer. Judge of His Honor's surprise at seeing the posters, upon which he declared that he had never joined any political party, never attended a political meeting, never voted or took any part in an election.

His Honor evidently had been in military and civil service from early life, and had therefore keep aloof from politics. This disavowal of political knowledge was no recommendation to himself as an administrator, as one needs to understand politics before becoming a statesman; just as it is necessary to be a lawyer before becoming a judge. It is probably unfortunate that two extreme men like Bidwell and Mackenzie were the first members of the Reform party to secure the ear of His Honor. Had men belonging to the party of the Baldwin stamp, who really represented the mass of the Reform party, met His Honor instead of the more democratic pair above mentioned, it would probably have been much to the advantage both of His Honor and of the country, as the sequel will show. As it happened, His Honor, like too many ill-informed and prejudiced people even at the present day, formed an erroneous impression from his interview with Mackenzie and Bidwell, as regards the

genuine loyalty and obedience to rational and constitutional methods, which has ever characterized the great body of Reformers, even in the face of the most glaring abuses and tyranny.

Government of Sir Francis Bond Head, 1836.

Parliament, which had been duly opened by his predecessor, was in session when His Honor arrived. Instead of simply announcing his appointment and authority he summoned the Assembly and delivered a rambling speech. He furthermore intimated that he had a communication—alluding to his own instructions—to make to them which he would submit in the form of a message. This message came after his singular speech, and instead of giving only the substance of the instructions, which could be safely communicated, he imprudently laid before it the complete document, which caused no little embarrassment to the colonial office; to Lord Gosford, the governor-general at Quebec, and to the Assembly of Lower Canada. The colonial office thought seriously of recalling His Honor at once, but unfortunately found difficulty just then in securing a suitable successor, which was certainly a great misfortune at that period of chronic bickerings in the public affairs of the province. The unsatisfactory portion of the message was the disclosure of the intention of the home government to concede neither responsible government, nor an elective Legislative Council; otherwise the message gave satisfactory assurances that the abuses and grievances complained of would be redressed. Although the Reformers in the Assembly had criticised His Honor's peculiar conduct, while the execu-

tive party endeavored to ingratiate themselves with him, he, however, for the time being kept himself free from the trammels of any coterie, and made a real effort to keep parties balanced in the executive, by offering portfolios to Messrs. Baldwin, Rolph and Dunn. These gentlemen at first declined to take office unless certain of the Tory ministers retired; finally, at the urgent solicitation of His Honor, Mr. Baldwin and his two friends were sworn in as members of the Executive Council. His Honor had now a fairly good government to advise him. This promising state of matters was, however, of short duration, as owing to his own lack of constitutional knowledge, and the sinister advice of the chief justice,* he relapsed into the old idea of personal government, and entirely ignored his advisers in the matter of making appointments. His Executive Council advised and remonstrated with him over his unconstitutional course; but influenced as he was, it is said, by the high authority of the chief justice (a gentleman who, apart from his early political notions, was possessed of high character and ability), he gave the Executive Council to understand that he still intended to make appointments without consulting them, which was a most unwise and disastrous stand to take. This left self-respecting and statesmanlike cabinet ministers of the Baldwin type no choice but resignation. Four new executive councillors were immediately nominated and accepted office upon His Honor's own terms, and so an oligarchy once more reigned supreme.

* McMullen's History, Vol. II., p. 107.

His Honor's arbitrary course was almost unanimously condemned by a direct vote of the Assembly. Conservatives and Reformers alike voting together in the furtherance of both a sound constitutional and responsible system of government.

The public excitement now became very great. A contest of addresses and replies took place between His Honor and the Assembly. The former, however, by a skilful distortion of facts, and the issue of proclamations to suit his own one-sided view of public affairs, succeeded in largely enlisting the sympathies of the people, who did not yet comprehend the fine points of responsible government, and besides were naturally inclined to give the king's representative the benefit of any doubt. Herein lay His Honor's chief advantage. He has also been reputed to have been no mean adept at the game of party politics, and also an excellent actor in rousing party enthusiasm, by which methods he began to achieve considerable popularity throughout the province, particularly after Speaker Bidwell had imprudently communicated an unofficial letter which he had received from the disaffected Speaker Papineau of Lower Canada, a most mischievous and irregular proceeding on the part of the Upper Canada Speaker. This incident, in connection with the heated conduct of Mackenzie, Dr. Morrison, and a few others in the Assembly, who having petulantly refused to vote the supplies of the government, greatly prejudiced the Reform cause, a state of matters which His Honor was not slow to take advantage of, and refused to assent to the Assembly's expense bills, prorogued parliament and sent the members away without their sessional allowance, which must have been

inconvenient for them, particularly in the face of an approaching election contest with six days of polling instead of one day as at present. He made dramatic appeals to the electorate against the present Assembly, which, with the incipient rebellion in Lower Canada, partly from the same cause of discontent which existed in Upper Canada, with the addition of unfortunate race prejudices in the former case, these cumulative factors in loyal Upper Canada would in any case tell heavily against the Reform party, notwithstanding their undoubted and inherent loyalty to the British Crown as a party.

His Honor being ready for the campaign dissolved the House, and took the stump himself, and advised the electorate not to vote against their own bread and butter. Deeds of land were hurriedly issued to voters favorable to the oligarchy to enable them to vote, while Reformers entitled to their deeds were compelled to wait for them until after the general election took place. The influence of office-holders throughout the province was also brought into play. Under these circumstances the defeat of the Reform and Independent Conservative party at the polls was a foregone conclusion. Such prominent men as Mackenzie, Bidwell and Perry, were defeated. Mackenzie particularly took the defeat severely to heart, and petitioned against the return of his opponent, Mr. Thompson. The petition was, however, thrown out upon some technicality, which further enraged Mackenzie who, now despairing of getting any fair play or justice under the existing state of matters, lost all patience, and accordingly became desperate, instead of biding his time in a philosophical manner.

At a meeting of the Constitutional Reform Society, of which Dr. Baldwin, father of Robert Baldwin, was president, His Honor's unseemly and partizan conduct was severely and justly denounced. His Honor thereupon immediately dismissed Messrs. Baldwin, Bidwell and Small from some positions held by them. In the rural districts many farmers, despairing of the future prospects for obtaining free and responsible government, sold their properties for whatever they would bring and removed to the United States—a most sad commentary upon the conduct of Sir Francis Bond Head and his executive.

The home government disapproved of the partisan conduct of His Honor, and now agreed to accede to the request of both the legislature of New Brunswick and of Upper Canada for the inauguration of the responsible system of government, similar to that of the Mother Country. Both lieutenant-governors of the respective provinces, however, tendered their resignations rather than give effect to the proposed new system which would have curtailed their power. The resignation of the New Brunswick lieutenant-governor was accepted, but in the critical state of matters in Upper Canada the home government unfortunately deemed it inexpedient to accept Sir F. B. Head's resignation at once. The delay was a fatal one. A change of lieutenant-governors with the advent of responsible government would certainly have prevented a rupture of the peace which ensued, even although in the new House, as then constituted, the Conservatives would have been legitimately entitled to the seals of office at the time, and for so long afterwards as they controlled the majority in the

popular branch of the legislature. Mackenzie and his friends would, in all probability, have been propitiated by the changes proposed by the home government had they been carried out.

Dr. Duncombe, member for Middlesex, proceeded to England to urge the prompt consummation of the proposed changes, but could not induce any immediate action on the part of the home government.

The new legislature met in November, 1837, and elected Mr. Archibald McLean as Speaker, who shortly afterwards accepted a judgeship. Mr. Allan Napier McNab was then elected to the vacant Speakership.

The banking policy of the country had to be now seriously considered, owing to the repudiation of specie payment on the part of many banks in the United States and Lower Canada. The banks in Upper Canada contrived to redeem their notes with specie, but curtailed their discounts, much to the inconvenience of the commercial community, for the time being, and which was also very trying to the banks as well, but in the end proved satisfactory to all concerned.

Mackenzie having been stung to the quick through a series of the most vigorous persecutions and disappointments which had been inflicted upon him by the ruling party, now decided upon the extreme and suicidal course, aided by a few kindred spirits, of organizing physical force for the displacement of His Honor and the Executive Council. Mackenzie's motives were doubtless patriotic, and not actuated by any desire for personal aggrandisement, as his programme, if successful, would have made Dr. Rolph and not him-

self president of the provisional government, after ousting by force the existing government at Toronto.

His Honor was timely warned of Mackenzie's movements, but affected to disregard such an improbable contingency, until a hostile body of men were advancing upon the city, and which, if acting in concert and properly commanded were quite sufficient to have captured the city and the government, with two thousand stand of arms stored in the armory. Providentially the insurgents, through a misunderstanding among themselves as to the time fixed for the attack delayed carrying out the intended *coup* until His Honor was prepared to make a defence, followed by an aggressive movement, which speedily scattered the insurgents; not, however, until the lamentable loss of two or three lives had occurred. Mackenzie and Rolph escaped to the United States, and for their apprehension large rewards were offered. Two otherwise good citizens, Lount and Matthews, unfortunately suffered the extreme penalty of death (for taking part with Mackenzie) after the departure of Sir F. B. Head from the country. It is to be regretted that his successor did not act mercifully towards the condemned men—a course which would have been pleasing to the home government, a fact which was ascertained too late in those days of slow postal communication to have prevented the execution of the above mentioned persons. Many other offenders, including Mackenzie and Rolph, were subsequently pardoned.

Meanwhile His Honor, Sir F. B. Head, had been finally recalled, and prorogued the legislature in March, 1838. He had many misgivings about getting

safely off this continent, as his reputation was extravagantly exaggerated as being a tyrannical monster. He reached New York in a fugitive state of mind, and was coolly received by the home government, and was never afterwards entrusted with any governmental position. Sir Francis Bond Head was personally a respectable and well-meaning man outside of politics, but was totally unsuited for the peculiar and important duties of an administrator of a constitutional and representative government.

Government of Sir George Arthur.

Sir George Arthur, recently governor of Van Diemen's Land (probably not a good graduating school for a constitutional governor), was appointed to succeed Sir F. B. Head as lieutenant-governor.

The jails in Hamilton and Toronto were at this time crowded with political prisoners. Petitions for mercy were presented to His Honor, who, however, declined to mitigate the sentences. However, all the other prisoners were more fortunate than poor Lount and Matthews in having a little later trial than the last named. The recommendations of clemency from the Home Government had arrived before the fury of the executive was vented upon their heads, otherwise more executions would certainly have taken place. It is much to be regretted that some members of the oligarchy were not severely censured in some way for their large responsibility in bringing about the lamentable insurrection through the vicious and unconstitutional advice tendered Sir F. B. Head, and other lieutenant-governors of the province.

The legislature was convened in February of 1839

in a lengthy speech by His Honor commenting upon the depressed state of the province, owing to the rebellion troubles. The finances especially were in a deplorable condition, which was not surprising under the exceptionally heavy militia expenditure unnecessarily incurred for fuss and feathers after the insurrection had been so effectually put down. Trade and general industry was naturally much disturbed, owing to the political agitation and the persistent calling out of the yeomanry to meet an imaginary foe after Mackenzie had crossed the border into a foreign country, where he received no respectable sympathy beyond a few filibusters at Navy Island. The government of the United States, acting in a proper spirit, gave Mackenzie clearly to understand that he would not be permitted to plan any hostilities against Canada while a refugee in that country.

Meanwhile Lord Durham, of happy memory, was in Canada personally collecting information for his masterly and statesmanlike report upon the state of the two Canadas, with a most valuable recommendation of a future policy, which has, for the most part, finally been carried out, to the great mutual advantage of all the provinces of British North America—Newfoundland, still outside the union, excepted.

The Earl of Durham was followed by Mr. Poulett Thompson, a very energetic, common-sense business man, who came upon a mission to reunite the two provinces, and at the same time to establish responsible government, and afterwards to assume the governor-generalship of the provinces. The success of his mission before the special council of Lower Canada has already been alluded to. He arrived in Upper

Canada, and temporarily succeeded Sir George Arthur, for the purpose of launching the union scheme before the legislature. An Act was introduced in the Assembly to give effect to the proposed union. The measure was freely discussed for some days, and a series of amendments were proposed, debated and voted down. One amendment proposed that the English language alone should be used in the legislature, and that the capital be located in Upper Canada. Another amendment very unfairly proposed that Upper Canada should be allowed to retain its present representation of fifty-eight members, and a representation of only fifty members be given the more prosperous province of Lower Canada. The representation provided by the Bill for the Assembly of the united provinces was eighty-four members, to be equally divided between what was to be henceforth designated, for convenience sake, as Canada East and Canada West. The Bill was finally adopted in the Assembly by a fair majority. The Legislative Council was much less favorable to the union scheme than the Assembly, but finally acquiesced through His Excellency's powerful influence.

The last parliament of Upper Canada, unlike that of the sister province in 1839, was finally dissolved in a happy mood to meet again, happily and unexpectedly, at the end of thirty-eight years as a parliament, and with the large representation of eighty-two members, separate from Lower Canada, now Quebec, but, however, under the new name of Ontario.

(Sir George Arthur's term being the last of the office of lieutenant-governor in Upper Canada until the appointment in 1867 of Major-General Stisted as lieutenant-governor of Ontario.)

Government of Lord Sydenham.

[Mr. Charles Poulett Thompson, now created Baron Sydenham and Toronto, a title well earned by his display of tact and ability in bringing about so promptly the happy reunion of the provinces.]

Writs were issued for a general election. Eighty-four members in all were to be returned in the now united provinces, and Kingston was selected as the new capital, presumably as being more central than either of the late capitals, Quebec or Toronto, or than any of the other cities in Upper Canada at the time. The election contest in Lower Canada was unfortunately very bitter and riotous, chiefly owing to the fact that the union was consummated by the special council, while the French-Canadian phalanx was comparatively disorganized and powerless to make themselves heard, if so inclined, as a legislative body against the union scheme, owing to the suspension of the constitution of the province, a bad state of matters, the bringing about of which they themselves contributed so largely by finally refusing to perform the regular functions of a legislature while they had the opportunity to do so.

The result of the general election on the whole was favorable to the action of His Excellency, Mr. Poulett Thompson (Lord Sydenham). The new Assembly was comprised of the following members:

Beauharnois, Dunscomb and Wakefield; Bellechasse, Ruel and Turgeon; Berthier, Armstrong; Bonaventure, Hamilton; Brockville, Sherwood; Bytown, Derbyshire; Carleton, Johnston; Chambly, Yule and Lacoste; Champlain, Kimber and Judah; Cornwall,

Chesley; Dorchester, Taschereau; Drummond, Watt; Dundas, Cook; Durham, Williams; Gaspe, Christie; Glengarry, J. S. Macdonald; Grenville, Crane; Haldimand, Thompson; Halton (E.R.), Hopkins; Halton (W.R.), Durand; Hamilton, McNab; Hastings, R. Baldwin and Murney; Huntingdon, Cuvillier; Huron, Strachan and Dunlop; Kamouraska, Berthelet; Kent, Wood; Kingston, Manahan and Harrison; Lanark, M. Cameron; Leeds, J. Morris; Leinster, Raymond and DeWitt; Lennox and Addington, J. S. Cartwright; Lincoln, W. H. Merritt; Lincoln, S. K. Thorburn; L'Islet, Tache; London, Killaly; Lotbinière, Noel; Megantic, Daly; Middlesex, Parke; Missisquoi, Jones; Montmorency, Quesnel; Montreal City, Moffat, Holmes and Beaubien; Montreal County, Delisle and Jobin; Niagara Town, Campbell and Boulton; Nicolet, A. N. Morin and L. M. Viger; Norfolk, Powell; Northumberland (E.R.), Boswell; Northumberland (W.R.), Gilchrist; Ottawa County, Day and D. B. Papineau; Oxford, Hincks; Portneuf, Aylwin; Prescott, D. Macdonald; Prince Edward, Roblin; Quebec City, Burnet, Black and Chabot; Quebec County, J. Neilson; Richelieu, D. B. Viger; Rimouski, Borne and R. Baldwin; Rouville, de Salaberry, Walker and Franchère; Russell, W. H. Draper and Stuart; Saguenay, Parent and A. N. Morin; Shefford, Foster; Sherbrooke Town, Hale; Sherbrooke County, Moore.

The Legislative Council was composed of the following gentlemen: Bruneau, Caron, Crooks, de Blaquere, Ferguson, Ferrie, A. Fraser, J. Fraser, Hamilton, Macaulay, J. Macdonald, P. McGill, T. McKay, Jamieson, Joliette, Knowlton, Moore, Morris, Neilson, Pemberton, Quesnel, Roy, Sullivan, J.

B. Tache. A few others were appointed who did not seem to retain their seats.

The new Cabinet was comprised of Messrs. Dunn, Daly, Harrison, Ogden, Draper, Baldwin and Killaly. For some unaccountable reason no French-Canadian was appointed to the Cabinet. The legislature was called for the 14th of June, 1841. The Kingstonians were naturally in high glee over their good fortune in having the seat of government in their midst. Very happily Mr. Cuvillier, a French-Canadian was chosen Speaker. Mr. Baldwin, true to his characteristic high notions of fairness, had already resigned his seat in the Cabinet on finding that the French-Canadians, who comprised such a very numerous body, were to be ignored in the matter of portfolios. Mr. Hincks, though not a member of the government, righteously found fault with the same omission.

CHAPTER XI.

NOVA SCOTIA.

WE will now return to the chief maritime province of Nova Scotia, with its representative system of government minus responsible government, which was destined to be yet a long distance in the future.

Governor Lawrence died in 1760, after a short illness, induced by a cold which he contracted at a government house ball. He was an excellent, progressive and successful administrator, whose death was much regretted. His harsh and summary treatment of the peaceful and industrious but misguided Acadians, for their not wishing to take the oath of allegiance in the prescribed form, is the possible only shade upon his memory.

Government of Jonathan Belcher.

Governor Lawrence was succeeded by the Honorable Jonathan Belcher, as governor, who opened parliament in an elaborate, comprehensive and encouraging report upon the state of the province. The death of George II. caused a new election. The representation was now increased from twenty-two to twenty-four members.

The next parliament lasted for a term of fourteen years, and was known as the long parliament of Nova

Scotia. The same Speaker, William Nesbitt, presided for the whole term, excepting in the year 1774. The members magnanimously decided to still give their services without any sessional indemnity or remuneration.

During the session of 1761 a treaty was entered into with the Indians, and a real hatchet appears to have been formally buried upon this eventful occasion. An attack from a hostile French fleet appeared imminent, and preparation for a defence was made, during which the loyalty of some remaining Acadians being doubted, a portion of these unfortunate people were again subjected to very serious molestations.

Mr. Belcher retired from the lieutenant-governorship in 1763, and was succeeded by Colonel Wilmot, who died in 1776, and was succeeded by Michael Franklin as lieutenant-governor. In the following year the islands of St. John (now Prince Edward Island) and Isle Royal (now Cape Breton) were annexed to Nova Scotia.

Government of Lord William Campbell.

Lord William Campbell was appointed governor-in-chief of the now enlarged Nova Scotia in 1776, where he continued until his appointment as governor of the province of South Carolina in 1778.

Lord Campbell was then succeeded by Francis Legge as governor-in-chief of Nova Scotia.

Government of Francis Legge.

It was during these times that the home government of that period were unfortunately pursuing a benighted colonial policy which was rapidly alienating

the affections and good-will of her very worthy subjects in the Anglo-American provinces, a course which was deeply deplored by many of the most prominent British statesmen, who unluckily were not then at the helm of state. Among these was the great commoner, Pitt the elder—afterwards Lord Chatham—then in his bed too ill to be carried to the House to enter his personal protest against the mischievous policy of taxing the colonists without giving them representation, besides inflicting other oppressions upon them. Mr. Pitt was much grieved and greatly agitated over the mad course of George III. and his ministers.

Nova Scotia was affected in precisely the same manner as the New England provinces, and efforts were made by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts to induce Nova Scotia to make common cause with them against the designs of the Mother Country, and a circular to that end was addressed to the Nova Scotia Assembly by the Massachusetts legislature, but by a pardonable little exercise of unconstitutional practice, the lieutenant-governor and Speaker suppressed the incendiary document, not that they feared any revolt upon the part of the comparatively weak community of Nova Scotia, but they deemed it as well to keep down all excitement, particularly as the patience of the Nova Scotians was sorely tried by an Imperial policy which prohibited the working of the coal deposits, and which also discouraged native factories. However, the people patiently submitted to these injustices, confident in the hope that relief would come at no very distant day, in which they were not disappointed.

The lieutenant-governor warned the Home authorities of what was transpiring in Massachusetts, which

had the effect of considerably moderating the policy of the Mother Country towards the American provinces. Other concessions would have followed, but the spirit of conciliation came too late; the breach was widening, and finally culminated in bloodshed in the year 1775. After this unfortunate incident His Honor issued a proclamation prohibiting any correspondence with the rebels in New England, and the exportation, except by license from the governor, of arms and ammunition was prohibited by an Act of the Assembly.

The Americans, now in open revolt, made some reprisals in Nova Scotia at St. John River, but were driven off by the British Admiral Graves. Other reprisals followed, but the peace of 1783 ended these troubles.

The lieutenant-governor, Mr. Legge, finding that the province was twenty thousand pounds in debt, scrutinized the finances, and discovered grave irregularities in their management, and instituted action against two officials, and secured verdicts for a considerable sum, but only a portion of the same was actually recovered for the treasury. Governor Legge does not seem to have been much thanked for his persistent investigation; he not being popular in other respects —nearly all the duties having been performed by a series of lieutenant-governors, while the governor-in-chief drew the salary.

Government of John Parr.

John Parr assumed the government as governor-in-chief in 1782, and presided for nine consecutive years. He was called upon to write Lord North, the British

minister, in September of 1783, to say that about thirteen thousand despoiled refugees, afterwards known as United Empire Loyalists, had arrived from the United States rather suddenly at Halifax, Annapolis, Port Roseway, the St. John River and Cumberland. Preparations had not been made for so large and unexpected an accession of these deserving people, consequently much suffering ensued.

The Assembly had already entertained just and enlightened notions as to the full civil and religious rights of their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens by passing an Act in 1783 removing certain disabilities under which they had so long unfairly labored, thus setting a good example to the Mother Country which, however, was unfortunately not followed until the year 1829, much to the discredit of the Imperial government, or rather to the head of it, King George III., who would not consent to the repeal of the unjust old statute; to do so, he absurdly persisted, would be a violation of his coronation oath.

In the following year, 1784, the province of New Brunswick was detached and a government of its own constituted, with Thomas Carleton—brother of Sir Guy Carleton—as its first governor. The settlers on the St. John River appeared glad of a deliverance from what they termed the "annoyance of tyranny," which they had suffered while constituting part of Nova Scotia.

The year 1786 was made memorable by the first visit of the "Sailor Prince," afterwards King William IV. Halifax was *en fete* for three weeks. His Royal Highness made two more happy visits to Halifax. On one occasion the House of Assembly lavishly

voted £700 for a dinner and ball in honor of His Royal Highness.

The public were somewhat startled this year by charges of maladministration of the law against Supreme Court Judges Deschamps and Brenton. The principal accusers were Attorneys Sterns and Taylor. The matter was brought under the notice of the Assembly by Major Millege, member for Digby, upon which a very able debate followed, thus already giving promise of that forensic talent which has continued to distinguish the public men of Nova Scotia. It is supposed that the governor was much inclined to shield the accused judges.

Government of John Wentworth.

Governor Parr retired in 1792, and was succeeded by John Wentworth, a former governor of New Hampshire, a gentleman who had also for many years filled the position of commissioner of woods and forests in America.

Among the first official steps of the new governor was to dissolve the House of Assembly, which had lasted for the considerable term of seven years. The elections passed off without much excitement, and a good selection of members appears to have been made by the electorate.

War having again been declared between France and Britain in the following year, the province was placed in a state of defence. The militia responded with alacrity as usual. It having been reported that a French fleet was at New York preparing for sea, and that Halifax might be its destination, the militia from

all parts of the province started for the capital, with all possible speed; one company, in particular, from Granville averaged the unprecedented speed of four miles per hour in a march of thirty-four hours' duration to Halifax, a distance of one hundred and thirty-five miles. Better stuff than these men is nowhere recorded in either ancient or modern history. About four thousand men assembled for the protection of the towns, which the governor deemed sufficient, otherwise, he declared, that half as many more were ready to come on very short notice. The attention to drill, sobriety and soldierly bearing of the assembled militiamen were most favorably commented upon in all quarters.

In 1794 Nova Scotians were again gratified by the arrival of another member of the Royal Family, in the person of the gallant soldier Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, father of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. His Royal Highness resided in Halifax for a considerable time, and was extremely popular with the inhabitants on account of his own exemplary bearing, and also for having successfully striven to improve the habits of the army then garrisoned at Halifax. The legislature presented him with a star at a cost of five hundred guineas.

In the year 1796 five hundred Maroons, colored people from Jamaica, were sent to Halifax as a riddance from that island. The legislature of Jamaica assisted for a time in the temporary support of these strange people while in Halifax, but finally abandoned them. The Nova Scotians treated them kindly, and set apart the township of Preston for them, but the climate was too severe for them in winter, and they

were becoming a burden to the province, which the British government relieved by carrying the Maroons to Sierra Leone, where they remained almost for a generation. The majority of them, however, finally returned to Jamaica.

Governor Wentworth presided over the government of the province with moderate success for fourteen years, during which time the colony prospered steadily. He was, however, an extreme Tory and disliked public discussions and seemed to take unprovoked aversion to the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Collenham Tonge, a man of more than average ability, whose reputation the governor tried to ruin in a covert manner. Failing in his secret designs, he finally refused to confirm Mr. Tonge's election as Speaker in 1806, and another Speaker was appointed. Despite the governor's failings, the Assembly, with characteristic liberality, granted him a pension of five hundred pounds per annum. The attitude of the Lower Canadian Assembly towards its governors was in striking contrast to the above generous proceedings. It is quite possible, however, that both Assemblies erred slightly in opposite directions.

Government of Sir George Prevost.

Mr. Wentworth was succeeded by Sir George Prevost, who made a tour of the province before the meeting of Parliament, which then assembled.

His Excellency informed the Assembly and Legislative Council that he had found much to congratulate them upon, and that he was now able fully to estimate the effects of the embargo laid by the United States

government on trade for a sinister purpose, which had fortunately failed in its object; new sources had been resorted to, and the result was an increase of both exports and imports. The crops were abundant; the fishery and timber interests were proving to be valuable industries; the revenue was improving, and above all, the sense and intelligence of the people enabled them to appreciate the blessings of British connections under His Majesty's present truly paternal government—certainly a very gratifying state of matters.

His Excellency laid the foundation stones of the fine provincial building on the 12th August, 1811, with great eclat.

Sir George Prevost, like the average governors of Nova Scotia, found the Assembly to be occasionally a little intractable, it being jealous of its rights, but always loyal and patriotic in its motives, despite some misrepresentation to the contrary against a few able and patriotic sons of Nova Scotia.

His Excellency having been appointed to the governor-generalship of Canada was succeeded in the governorship of Nova Scotia by Sir John Cooke Sherbrooke, who arrived in Halifax in October, 1811.

Government of Sir John C. Sherbrooke.

War having been declared by the United States against Great Britain in June following, in consequence of which the Assembly met in July, and voted eight thousand pounds additional for general defence; letters of marque and commissions to privateers were granted by the governor. The prizes taken by the

British were generally brought into the port of Halifax, which temporarily increased trade. The brave and skilful Captain Lawrence and his lieutenant of the American frigate *Chesapeake* were buried in the city with full military honors by all the navy captains in port as well as by the citizens. The remains of these two officers were afterwards removed to Boston.

The unnatural war between Great Britain and the United States was terminated by the Treaty of Ghent in 1815. The downfall of the first Napoleon at Waterloo in the same year was celebrated by a public dinner presided over by the attorney-general.

A patriotic subscription list for the widows and orphans of the men who fell in the late war was opened, and £3,800 at once subscribed in Halifax. Other places throughout the province also contributed liberally.

Sir John Cooke Sherbrooke, having been appointed in 1816 to the governor-generalship of Canada, was entertained before his departure at a complimentary dinner, and the Assembly testified their appreciation of his services during the war by voting £1,000 for the purchase of a piece of plate, with which he was presented. Major-General George Tracy Smith was appointed administrator until the arrival of the Earl of Dalhousie in October.

Government of Lord Dalhousie.

Lord Dalhousie met the legislature in the splendid new parliament buildings, and felicitated the members upon the public spirit which had accomplished the erection of an edifice so honorable and useful to

the province. His Lordship also referred to the prosperous condition of the province generally, and said that Halifax was about to attain still greater prestige as an important seaport. He intimated that he had some recommendations to make during the session. He, in particular, foreshadowed the establishment of a non-denominational institution for higher education, the so-called dissenters having been excluded from Windsor College by the English Church. The admirable letters of Mr. John Young—a most able and estimable citizen—upon agriculture and kindred topics, attracted the attention of His Lordship and others, which resulted in a vigorous forward movement in the founding of agricultural societies, and a system of drainage.

The Rev. Thomas McCulloch managed to found an academy at Pictou for the higher branches of education, open to all denominations, the founder being possessed of such varied gifts and perseverance that enabled him personally to teach thoroughly any branch included in the faculty of arts and theology with a good smattering of chemistry and natural history thrown in, besides attending to some pastoral duties. It is not surprising, then, that he was successful in carrying on the academy unaided by endowments. Meanwhile the Assembly had passed an Act for the establishment of eleven grammar schools in as many counties and districts. An Act was also passed to aid and encourage the said system of grammar schools.

During the American war, Castine, in the State of Maine, had been captured by the British forces and held for a considerable time. The revenues derived

from customs duties at that point netted clear £10,750. Of this sum His Lordship proposed that £1,000 should be set apart for a garrison library and £3,000 for building a college, leaving £6,750 for the endowment of the same. As trustees he proposed the lieutenant-governor, the chief justice, the bishop of Nova Scotia, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the provincial treasurer and the minister of the Church of Scotland in Halifax. After the building was completed £8,000 remained on interest. Before the college could be put into operation, Lord Dalhousie had left to assume the governor-generalship of Canada. Several unsuccessful attempts with a view both to economy and harmony were made to unite Dalhousie and King's Colleges, but owing to the exclusiveness of the ecclesiastical heads of King's College no union has yet been effected.

The matter of road construction and surveys, hitherto sadly neglected, was now brought before the attention of the Assembly, but which, however, did not receive the attention it deserved. Other recommendations of His Lordship were also, for some reason, entirely neglected. One must come to the conclusion that the Assembly at this time was somewhat remiss in the matter of developing the interior of the country, while they were evidently more magnanimous in the less useful expenditure for costly presentations to distinguished officials, instead of pushing on surveys and constructing roads which were so much needed.

Before the departure of His Lordship to Canada, the legislature voted him a complimentary address, accompanied with a star and sword. The latter articles, much to his credit, were declined with thanks,

owing to his displeasure at their dilatoriness in not performing the duties assigned them in his several messages, to which no replies were sent. The Assembly, it would appear, was greatly lacking in both courtesy and spirit at this time. Instead of taking umbrage at His Honor's rebuffs they, however, three years later, assisted the citizens in according His Lordship a rousing reception, including a public dinner and ball, on the occasion of a short visit which he made to Halifax. Lord Dalhousie has generally been considered one of the ablest and most useful governors that presided over the government of Nova Scotia.

Government of Sir James Kempt.

Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt assumed the government of the province on June 1st, 1820, and made himself tolerably well acquainted with the province by considerable touring throughout the country.

The British government, having for economical and other reasons, wisely resolved to annex the Island of Cape Breton to Nova Scotia, despite the expressed wish of the islanders to the contrary, its president, General Ainsley, was instructed to give effect to His Majesty's wishes by dissolving the council of Cape Breton, and the appointing of one of the members of the dissolved council to the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, and to issue writs for the election of two members to the Assembly of Nova Scotia. The laws of Nova Scotia were to be made applicable to the island. The office of customs, the naval officers, the surveyor-general and the superintendent of mines were retained, but the services of the judges and some other

subordinate officers were dispensed with. Allowances were, however, granted in some cases, and in other instances situations of some kind were found for the former Cape Breton office-holders.

Boards of location were established in various counties of the province for the purpose of more conveniently granting lands to settlers, thereby sparing intending locatees the time and expense of going to Halifax. The modern system of local Crown lands' agents would appear to be a further improvement upon the boards of location. However allowances must be made for the methods of these primitive times. His Honor urged a vigorous and more efficient policy in the matter of making and repairing the public roads. The sympathies of the people were at this time evoked over calamitous bush fires, the first of which occurred in the western part of the province, causing much distress. A government vessel was despatched to the scene of desolation with provisions and other necessary articles. Liberal subscriptions were also made in other sections of the province. Then came the unparalleled bush fire of Miramichi in the adjoining province of New Brunswick. A district extending one hundred miles in length was quickly devastated, and one hundred and sixty lives were lost. One million dollars in cash was promptly subscribed by private individuals in Nova Scotia towards the relief of the sufferers.

Mr. Lawrence Cavanagh, a Roman Catholic gentleman, was returned as one of the members from Cape Breton in 1827, but the form of oath was at that period such that a consistent Roman Catholic could not subscribe to it. To the credit of the legislature,

however, an address, on the motion of Mr. Uniacke, seconded by Mr. Haliburton, in eloquent speeches, was promptly sent to the home government, requesting authority to eliminate the objectionable portion of the oath, assuring His Majesty at the same time that the Roman Catholics of Nova Scotia were second to none in their loyalty and attachment to British interests. The assent of His Majesty George IV. was promptly forthcoming, although at variance with his late father's domestic or home policy towards the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, a policy which was happily reversed most completely in the British parliament in the following year, after twenty-five years of persistent advocacy in the House of Commons, but which had been just as persistently opposed by a majority in the House of Lords during that period.

Sir James Kempt, having presided over the government of Nova Scotia most efficiently and successfully for eight years, was in the year 1828 promoted to the governor-generalship of Canada, and left the government of Nova Scotia temporarily in the hands of the Hon. Mr. Wallace.

Government of Sir Peregrine Maitland.

Sir Peregrine Maitland succeeded Sir James Kempt as lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, and summoned parliament for February, 1829. The speech from the throne was an assurance that he would keep in touch from time to time with the legislature for the general well-being and interest of the province. The equanimity of the parliament was greatly perturbed dur-

ing the session by some exciting experiences in the matter of parliamentary rules and discipline, which arose through the suspension of Mr. Barry, member for Shelburne, who had a wordy altercation with another member during a sitting of the House. Both members were ordered to retire, when the House dictated an apology for Mr. Barry to sign before he could resume his seat. He refused to sign it, and as the House would only suspend and not expel Mr. Barry, his constituents petitioned for either a new election or a removal of the suspension; but the House took no action. Two newspaper editors, Messrs. Holland and Ward, for having sympathized with the suspended member, were summoned to the bar of the House and reprimanded by the Speaker. Mr. Howe, editor of the *Nova Scotian*, though approving of the general conduct of the Assembly, warned that body at the same time not to interfere too readily with the liberty of the press by bringing them before the bar of the House, as the press could retaliate by bringing the Assembly before the bar of the public.

The navigation and customs laws which, as originally arranged by the home government, had been hampering the shipping, warehousing and mercantile interests, were now with the consent of the Imperial government amended very much in the interest of the province.

Another relic of primitive polity was swept away in the matter of quit-rents. In the year 1754 Governor Lawrence made all land conditions subject to a yearly rental of one shilling for every fifty acres. The impost was not a heavy one, but the legislature during the session declared it expedient to abolish

the rent entirely, which was doubtless a popular step, at least in the rural districts.

Towards the close of the session of 1830 the Assembly and Legislative Council came into violent collision upon an important constitutional question. The Assembly had occasion to correct a misapprehension which arose in the customs law as regards the duty on brandy, which was intended to be one shilling and fourpence per gallon, but through some misconception only one shilling had been collected. The Assembly now merely amended the customs law to meet the particular case, and requested the concurrence of the council. The council, instead of complying, stipulated for a reduction of the tariff on a variety of articles, which was certainly an unheard-of proceeding. A very exhaustive and able debate followed in the Assembly, the members of which were practically unanimous in their stand against the unparliamentary course of the council, whose action in sending back the revenue bill, it is said, caused a financial loss to the country of twenty-five thousand pounds. Brandy must have been a popular beverage in Nova Scotia in those days, as £25,000 would represent a million and a half gallons at fourpence per gallon, a seemingly large supply for the then population of that province. However, a considerable portion of it may have been re-exported. At any rate the Assembly were justified in their endeavor to make the article of brandy a good revenue-producing commodity.

Sir Peregrine Maitland being ill during the session, Mr. Wallace again acted as administrator, and sent a message to the House commanding their presence in

the council chamber, and in rather a lecturing speech prorogued parliament. The feeling of the country was with the Assembly, the conduct of its members being unmistakably endorsed at the ensuing general election, which took place in consequence of the death of King George IV. The new parliament met and again elected Mr. S. G. Archibald, Speaker.

His Honor, the lieutenant-governor, in his gracious opening speech, expressed regret that his severe illness compelled his absence during the previous session. He counselled harmony in all branches of the legislature, which seems to have had the desired effect. A revenue bill was passed reducing the duty on sugar, and placing coffee and molasses on the free list, but still righteously adhered to the higher duty on brandy. The debates upon the tariff were spirited but conciliatory, which resulted in the hearty co-operation of the Legislative Council, thus happily healing over the serious breach which took place in the previous session, each body probably feeling that they had carried their point.

The population of the province was now rapidly increasing, chiefly from the Highlands of Scotland. Temperance societies were formed, also the first Mechanics' Institute established, and steam for pumping water out of coal mines and for the propelling of vessels was introduced.

The reports of the discussions in the Imperial parliament upon the Reform Bill of 1832 were published in the Nova Scotian newspapers and eagerly perused by the people of the province.

Sir Peregrine Maitland's term of office came to a close in 1832. He was said to be an agreeable person

but utterly wanting in decision of character. Mr. Howe's paper, the *Nova Scotian*, said of him: "We wish him a safe and speedy passage home to his native country, and—if they are not abolished before he gets there—we could almost find it in our heart, for his amiable lady's sake, to wish him one of the many snug sinecures with which Old England abounds." Upon the retirement of Sir Peregrine Maitland the Honorable T. N. Jeffrey became administrator of the government for a period of eighteen months, and summoned parliament early in February of 1832. He congratulated the House upon the increased representation from Cape Breton, and on the extension of the free warehousing to the ports of Liverpool and Yarmouth, N.S., and on the immunity from the cholera scourge, and at the same time complimented the Board of Health upon their great efficiency.

Copies of a despatch from Lord Goderich, secretary of state for the colonies, was laid before the legislature, in which it was intimated that the salaries paid the judges were inadequate, and recommending an increase. Mr. Stewart moved that it was expedient to accede to these recommendations. The solicitor-general subsequently moved a resolution for an increase of nearly fifty per cent. in the salaries of judges, which, however, was an unpopular proposal both in the House and country, consequently the consideration of the resolution, after an exceptionally able debate, was deferred until the next session.

The banking system about this time received some salutary attention. Trade was very depressed and some serious bankruptcies took place, and the gloom was now intensified by the appearance of the cholera, resulting in an alarming number of deaths.

Government of Sir Colin Campbell.

Major-General Sir Colin Campbell arrived in July of 1834, and assumed the government, whereupon the Honorable Mr. Jeffrey retired. The new governor met the Assembly and delivered an opening speech of unusual length, during which he recommended the adoption of a financial arrangement between the province and home government, which had been a bone of contention. This the legislature acceded to, thus happily ending the friction which had long prevailed.

Mr. Howe's newspaper had been stirring up the magistracy, who at this time governed the City of Halifax and, together with the police, were charged with the wholesale pocketing of ill-gotten gains from the poor. A prosecution was instituted upon a charge laid by the magistrates for libel by the attorney-general, Mr. Archibald. Mr. Howe conducted his own defence with his usual marked ability, and was acquitted by the jury without hesitation, to the great delight of the general public.

Education was still receiving deserved attention, which was bearing good fruit. The government grant of $27,200 for education was nobly supplemented by voluntary subscriptions, amounting to $49,600.

The parliamentary term having expired a general election took place in November of 1836. Mr. Joseph Howe, coming forward for the first time, was returned as one of the members for Halifax County, on the popular platform of remedying abuses, such as the exorbitant salaries of the government officials, irresponsibility of the magistrates, and the secrecy of the proceedings of the Legislative Council. Such promi-

nent men as Archibald, Huntington, Stewart, Uniacke, Wilkins, Annand Doyle, Howe, John Young and William Young were returned at this general election.

Early in the first session Mr. Doyle, a gentleman noted for ready wit and humor, moved a resolution in denunciation of the practice of the Legislative Council of sitting with closed doors. This resolution occasioned a warm debate and the passing of further resolutions in both chambers, during which it transpired that the Legislative Council, like that of its prototype in Upper Canada, was largely a family compact.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, being the smallest denomination in point of numbers, held eight seats, including the bishop, comprising two-thirds of the seats in the Legislative Council; of the other four seats, three were held by Presbyterians and one by a Roman Catholic—the latter a comparatively numerous body, while the Methodists and Baptists were completely ignored. Two family connections held five of the seats in the council, and five others had been partners in one mercantile firm; another of the councillors was the chief justice. The council claimed the right of meddling with the revenue and commercial matters without the consent of the people's representatives. The Assembly voted an address to the home government, complaining of these usurping tendencies and irresponsibility of the Legislative Council. The latter voted a counter address, giving their version of matters. The governor in an impartial manner forwarded both addresses to the secretary of state for the colonies. In the meantime the agita-

tion apparently had had some effect upon the council, as the doors of the council chambers were now opened to the public during the debates and proceedings in that chamber.

During the following session the fishermen of the province had cause of complaint over the infringement of their fishery treaty by the citizens of other nations, particularly those of the United States and France. The Assembly took prompt action by voting $2,000 for the arming of small vessels to protect the fishery interests of their own people, and at the same time represented the grievance to His Majesty's government for further protection.

The alleged illegal exaction of certain fees by the chief justice and *puisne* judges again came up for discussion in the Assembly, which reaffirmed the charge of judges taking illegal fees. An enthusiastic public meeting was held for the purpose of asking the legislature for an Act of Incorporation for the town of Halifax, the revenue of the town having hitherto been managed by appointees of the government. Rousing speeches in opposition to the existing system were delivered by Messrs. Forester, Ball, Tobin, Howe, Mackenzie, Lawson, G. R. Young and Jennings (1837). The Act of Incorporation was, however, delayed from time to time, but finally passed in 1841; but not then, strange to say, by a unanimous vote.

The following year was one of great commotion in both Lower and Upper Canada over the unsuccessful clamor for constitutional changes by a vast majority of the people, and which culminated in open rebellion primarily against the Executive and Legislative Councils in both provinces, and finally against the Crown.

This violent action of the "would-be revolutionists" in Canada was justly and strongly condemned by all political parties in the Maritime Provinces, the majority of whom, though dissatisfied themselves with some features of the present governmental system, were nevertheless content to patiently persevere in a constitutional agitation for a redress of grievances, which was finally brought about without any disturbance. The Assembly, in anticipation of at least some concessions being granted, wisely rescinded some ill-tempered resolutions which had been passed by it upon the state of the province; nor were they disappointed in their expectations, as the Imperial government now decided that all judges must be excluded from the legislatures, and also that the Assembly was to have full control of all the public revenues arising in the province from all sources, and that the membership of the Legislative Council was to be reconstituted. Here was a great triumph for the Assembly. The governor was, however, very loth to carry out his instructions, which were practically to make a sweeping change in the composition of the Legislative Council, a course evaded by him as much as possible by his retaining some members which the Imperial government intended should go.

The Assembly had deliberately expressed the sound opinion that there should be two councils instead of one, viz., a Legislative and an Executive Council. The home government assented to the proposal, and the lieutenant-governor was instructed to send to the Imperial government a list of men best qualified to compose the said councils. The lieutenant-governor suggested that the members of the present Legislative

Council should be appointed to one or other of these councils. The Imperial government dissented from the proposal, and reinstructed the lieutenant-governor to make selections from the different parts of the province in such a manner as to avoid all suspicion of partiality and favoritism. These judicious instructions do not appear to have been faithfully carried out. Mr. Howe called attention to the violation of instructions by the governor, and said if no other member called public attention to the lieutenant-governor's seeming partiality he would do so himself.

The suppression of the insurrection in the Canadas, and the death of William IV. was referred to in the governor's opening address of the session, which had been convened for January, 1838.

The coal mining industry not being placed upon a proper footing in the interests of the province, called forth the attention of the Assembly.

The lieutenant-governor essayed to vindicate himself from the suspicion of partiality in selecting the councillors, and intimated, by way of extenuation, that the members of the Legislative Council did not receive a sessional allowance equal to that of the members of the Assembly, and sometimes nothing, for their services. It is quite probable, however, that the Legislative Councillors gave much less time to their duties than did the members of the Assembly.

In the meantime Lord Durham had been appointed governor-general and high commissioner of all the British provinces, with headquarters at Quebec. A committee headed by Mr. Johnston was appointed to wait upon His Lordship for the purpose of conferring in reference to matters affecting the prosperity of the

province. In referring during the interview, to his treatment by the British government, which had ungratefully deserted him over some well-meant irregularities, on his part, he was so overcome by his feelings that he retired to a distant part of the room for a moment to compose himself.

The grievances which the delegation wished to lay before His Lordship were with reference to the administration of the Crown lands; the systematic encroachment of the Americans upon the fisheries; the expense of the customs' establishment; the excessive salaries of officials—the secretary of the province receiving £1,000 sterling per annum, besides holding the lucrative office of registrar of deeds. The personnel of the Executive and Legislative Councils was also complained of.

During the sitting of the Assembly intelligence was received that New Brunswick was invaded from the State of Maine, whereupon great excitement ensued. The business of the House was instantly suspended, and all parties united in taking prompt steps for the defence of the sister province. A large committee was appointed to frame resolutions, the House adjourning for a few hours. The House on resuming voted £100,000, and placed 8,000 of the militia at the disposal of the commander-in-chief to meet the emergency. Multitudes of the citizens congregated about the parliament buildings and cheered the resolutions most lustily.

The threatened war between Great Britain and the United States, caused by the action simply of a state governor, and not by the United States government, was, however, happily averted, as a war between these

two nations would have been criminally calamitous, and it is to be hoped that such a possibility will never arise.

During the session of 1839 the Assembly appointed Messrs. Huntington and William Young as delegates to the Imperial government to advocate certain constitutional reforms. The Legislative Council thereupon appointed Messrs. Stewart and Wilkins as a counter delegation to oppose the proposed reforms. The representatives of the Assembly, however, achieved considerable success in the matter of the customs excise and postal matters and also in getting the price of the land for the actual settlers fixed as low as one shilling per acre.

Lord Durham's report—already characterized as a most valuable and historic state paper—was published, whereupon the Legislative Council adopted a series of resolutions in its condemnation, one in particular embodying some strange reasons against the proposed federation of the provinces. It was alleged that such a step would be dangerous to the interests of the Mother Country, as well as to the colonies. These councillors were surely narrow-minded, and short-sighted prophets in the light of the existing happy conditions of the grand Dominion. A successful effort was made this year to secure a transatlantic steamship service between Halifax and Great Britain, which was consummated through the remarkable and successful enterprise of Mr. Cunard, of Halifax. This enterprise was followed by the successful development of the St. Lawrence route, which was achieved by the enterprising Allan Brothers, after a very trying beginning, owing to the loss of several ships; but the initial

difficulties were soon successfully overcome by the indomitable perseverance of its founders.

The first piece of railway line in the province was put into operation between the Albion Mines and the coaling ground near New Glasgow. The event was enthusiastically celebrated. It is said that almost every fiddler and bag-piper in the province was brought into requisition for the occasion.

The home government had already expressed its concurrence in the proposal of the Assembly to inaugurate the system of responsible government, but the lieutenant-governor was still bent upon frustrating the wishes of the people's representatives. The most peremptory instructions were sent him, directing that the new system be carried out; still the lieutenant-governor would not make a move.

The Assembly, in a very mild and respectful, but firm, address to the home government, asked for the recall of His Honor, Sir Colin Campbell. His friends called a mass meeting of electors to uphold his conduct. His opponents attended the meeting in force, and the discussions lasted for seven hours, but no vote could be taken, owing to the excitement and confusion. His Honor was, however, recalled and Viscount Falkland took his place.

Sir Colin Campbell was personally a man of high integrity, but did not possess the attributes of a modern statesman, or he would not have hesitated so doggedly about applying the principles of responsible government.

The Right Honorable Charles Poulett Thompson, governor-general, visited Halifax, and made himself acquainted with its affairs, and doubtless would in

due course have established responsible government in Nova Scotia, but for his premature and melancholy death at Kingston in Upper Canada.

Government of Lord Falkland.

Lord Falkland, shortly after his arrival, sent for Messrs. Jeffrey, Collins, Cogswell and Tobin of the Executive Council, whom he requested to retire, and appointed Messrs. Howe and McNab instead. A general election followed, in which the Liberals held their former majority of fourteen, and celebrated their victory at a public dinner, in which Mr. Stairs proposed the British Constitution, in the following apt simile:

"It rose like the coral islands by slow degrees, amid storms of human intellect and passion—time but extends its borders, develops its beauties and increases its strength."

The new House met in February of 1841, when Mr. Howe was elected Speaker over Mr. Uniacke by two votes. Mr. Archibald, the former Speaker, being now a Crown officer, was not eligible for re-election as Speaker. Lord Falkland delivered a lengthy opening address upon educational topics. The Assembly did not, however, agree with His Honor's proposed policy.

The bill for the incorporation of the town of Halifax was finally passed, which, it is said, put an end to a long system of local misrule.

The following session of parliament passed over without any questions of exciting interest. A measure for the consolidation of criminal statutes was passed, also an Act to ameliorate the condition of

the Indians. It is worthy of note that the Assembly received a visit during the session from Charles Dickens, the justly celebrated English writer.

When the House met again in 1843 Mr. Howe resigned the Speakership to take charge of the department of customs. Both Mr. William Young and Mr. Huntington were proposed for the vacant Speakership, which went to Mr. Young by a majority of two votes. Mr. Annand moved a series of resolutions upon the education question, supported by an able speech, in which he declared that one good college, free from ecclesiastic control, would be better than the four colleges now drawing upon the revenues of the province. Mr. Fairbanks moved an amendment in favor of maintaining the old system. The proceedings appeared to be so distasteful to Lord Falkland that he resorted to the petty and capricious expedient of dissolving the Assembly, while the Liberals were rather disorganized over Mr. Howe's unpopular acceptance of office. The result of the election was a small majority for the Conservatives, under the able leadership of Mr. Johnston, whom we shall meet again.

The governor, having appointed Mr. M. B. Almon to seats in both the Legislative and Executive Councils, apparently upon his own responsibility, Messrs. Howe, Uniacke and McNab very properly tendered their resignations, a proceeding which rather surprised His Honor, who was apparently not yet fully imbued with the doctrines of responsible government.

The new parliament met in February, 1844, and elected the Honorable William Young as Speaker of the Assembly.

His Honor in the speech from the throne expressed his desire and motive for the advancement of the best interests of the province, but defined his unfavorable attitude to the system of party or responsible government, and declared his intention to resist any invasion of the royal prerogative, which meant that he would ignore the popular voice at his own sweet will.

A very large minority of the House took exception to His Honor's principles, and debated the address for a fortnight. The chief speakers on the opposition side were Messrs. Howe, Huntington, Doyle and G. R. Young. The address was only carried by a majority of three. Mr. Howe subsequently moved a want of confidence motion, which was voted down by a like majority.

His Honor, despite what transpired, again offered portfolios to Messrs. Howe, McNab and Uniacke, on condition that the existing principles of government would be continued; but these gentlemen declined the appointments upon such conditions, after which Mr. Howe devoted himself vigorously to journalism, making His Honor the victim of some humorous satires, which annoyed him greatly. His Honor made an unsuccessful attempt at detaching Mr. Howe's followers from him by offering portfolios to Messrs. McNab, Huntington, Uniacke, Tobin and Brennan, which were declined. His Honor also complained of Howe to the home government, stating that either he should be recalled or Howe be suppressed.

The attorney-general drew the attention of the House to these unseemly attacks made upon the lieutenant-governor, which, however, had no restraining effect upon Howe's facile pen.

Lord Falkland, in order to strengthen his government, made a tour of the most populous counties, which was not reassuring to His Honor, as he found the current of public opinion running strongly with Howe. The feeling against irresponsible government being now strong in Upper Canada, and also in New Brunswick as well, His Honor did not, therefore, experience a very enjoyable time of it.

Lord Falkland, like many others of the early and unsuccessful governors, was personally a well meaning man, and had some able defenders and friends in Nova Scotia. He was, however, glad to get away, and was succeeded by Sir John Harvey, late governor of Newfoundland.

Government of Sir John Harvey.

The policy of His Honor favored a coalition executive rather than a strictly party government, and in furtherance of his ideas, offered to make room for at least two leading Liberals in the composition of the Cabinet. The well-intended proposition was, however, respectfully declined by the Liberals, who would favor nothing short of the responsible system of government by party majorities.

In opening the session of 1847 His Honor urged several useful local improvements, such as changes in the management of road construction, etc. A general election took place in the autumn of the same year, the result being unfavorable to the executive, which could not command a sufficient vote to elect their nominee as Speaker, whereupon all the members of the executive honorably resigned their portfolios, and a new government was formed, comprising Messrs.

Uniacke, Howe, Tobin, Bell, McNab, G. R. Young, Huntington, Des Barres and Doyle, all being opponents of the former administration, thus inaugurating in Nova Scotia, for the first time, an actual responsible government. It is to be presumed that the new Ministers went back to their constituents for re-election otherwise the very full system of responsible government had not yet been quite accomplished.

The Assembly of Newfoundland, which had been vainly seeking to have the principles of responsible government established in that province, congratulated Nova Scotia, through its Speaker, upon the attainment of the constitution for which they had contended. In answer the Assembly replied that it would rejoice to see the same sound and enlightened principles extended to Newfoundland.

The new government gave much attention to the matter of education, for which liberal appropriations were made. Money was also voted for the construction of a line of telegraph.

Mr. Johnston, the leader of the Opposition, moved resolutions looking to a reduction of the proportion of the lieutenant-governor's salary to be borne by the province, which was then $15,000, and now but $10,000, which is paid by the Dominion. It would seem that Mr. Johnston's proposal to reduce the province's proportion to £1,000, had some ground for consideration. Mr. Johnston also coupled with the above resolution a proposal to render the Legislative Council elective for a limited period, which was probably a bid for popular favor.

The coal mining regulations again received some favorable attention from the Assembly. An enter-

prising movement was entered upon for interprovincial railway extension to connect Halifax with Canada and the United States, and Mr. Howe was sent as a delegate to the Imperial government to solicit aid for the project, but did not meet with the encouragement which the very important scheme deserved, chiefly owing to indecision as to the most expedient route to be selected. However, Major Robinson was sent out to examine the country, and reported for military reasons in favor of the present circuitous route of the Intercolonial Railway, the construction of which became a settled policy upon the union of the provinces in 1867.

The consolidation and revision of the statutes was authorized and carried out in a most satisfactory manner.

Lady Harvey, the most estimable wife of the lieutenant-governor, died at Halifax this year greatly regretted. Her death and other bereavements, together with an attack of illness, soon hastened the early departure from this world also of His Honor, who was laid in the tomb beside his wife, who had so recently preceded him. Lieutenant-General Sir John Harvey was a gallant soldier and no mean statesman, possessed of fine personal appearance, many noble traits and accomplishments; he, therefore, commanded the respect and confidence of all who knew him. He had been an acceptable and successful governor-general of several other colonies before coming to Nova Scotia.

Colonel Bazalgette was appointed administrator until the arrival of Sir John Gaspard le Marchant, who had been appointed as lieutenant-governor.

Some apprehensions were entertained that the Imperial government might agree to a threatened fishery treaty prejudicial to the interests of Nova Scotia. This feeling found expression in a large public meeting, at which resolutions were adopted protesting against the granting of further favors to American fishermen.

A forward movement in the matter of provincial and local railway extension now took place, and Mr. Howe was appointed chairman of the board, giving up his portfolio as provincial secretary. A reconstruction of the administration then took place, Mr. Young, the Speaker, becoming premier, and associated with him in the Cabinet were Messrs. Henry, Uniacke and Wilkins—who had lately deserted the Conservative party—all of whom were returned at the respective bye-elections. Mr. Young's announced railway and other policies were apparently looked upon with general favor throughout the province.

The historic reciprocity treaty, so very acceptable to the other provinces, was correspondingly unpopular in Nova Scotia. The administration, however, somewhat reluctantly ratified the treaty rather than embarrass the negotiations elsewhere, and when its chief author, the talented statesman Lord Elgin, governor-general, visited Halifax with his lady, a daughter of Lord Durham, in the following year, he was tendered a most cordial reception. A most successful industrial exhibition was opened at Halifax this year with great eclat and enthusiasm.

A prohibiting liquor law bill was introduced by Mr. Johnston. The proposal was unmercifully ridiculed

by Mr. Howe and failed to pass. The appalling evils of the liquor traffic were admitted, but the impossibility of enforcing a prohibitory law, where it had been tried so often, influenced a majority of the House against the extreme measure of prohibition, who preferred to see the evils remedied by educatory efforts, and argumentative moral suasion, backed by a good license law to regulate the traffic.

The Russian or Crimean war was progressing at this period (1855), and evoked much public interest, more especially as two of Nova Scotia's gallant sons were active and prominent participants in the struggle in the persons of General Williams—hero of Kars—and Inglis.

A general election took place this year (1855), one of the chief features of which was the exciting political duel in Cumberland County between Howe and Dr. Tupper—whom we shall frequently meet again. Howe was defeated by Tupper, which dealt a deadly blow at the Liberal party, Howe having indiscreetly attacked some of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, which he did in an open manner, and thereby wrecked his party in about the same way and time that a certain Liberal leader and journalist wrecked his party in Upper Canada. The leaders on the other side did not approve a whit more of the particular doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church than did the Liberal leaders, but were more politic, and wisely and properly concealed their private opinions from the public, and thereby deservedly reaped the reward of golden silence.

Mr. Howe and his party, being in a minority, were voted out of power, and Mr. Johnston, leader of the Opposition, was requested by His Honor to form a

government, in which he succeeded. Dr. Tupper and other prominent men were taken into the new Cabinet, all of whom were re-elected upon going back to their constituents for endorsation.

The new administration rendered valuable services in dealing with education, mining and other important interests and questions.

Lieutenant-Governor le Marchant now retired, and was succeeded by the Earl of Mulgrave.

Government of the Earl of Mulgrave.

The solicitor-general, Wilkins, retired from the administration on the ground of the executive disposing by orders-in-council, of certain matters which belonged solely to the functions of the legislature. A general election took place, resulting in favor of the Liberals by a narrow majority. The minority party still held on to the seals of office until the regular meeting of parliament, when it failed to elect its candidate, Mr. Wade, for Speaker. The Liberals elected their candidate, Mr. Stewart Campbell, by a majority of three votes; still the government most improperly and unconstitutionally refused to resign, upon the ground that some members of the other party were disqualified. His Honor was strangely requested by the defeated administration to purge the House in some way of the alleged disqualified members. His Honor applied to the home government for instructions. The reply thereto was as might be anticipated: For the House to purge itself if it needed purging. The Johnston-Tupper government then, as a last expedient, had the effrontery to request His Honor to dissolve the newly elected

House. This His Honor, as a constitutional governor, was naturally loth to do. The administration, not having a peg left upon which to hang an argument, then resigned.

Mr. William Young was again called upon to form a government, in which he succeeded. His colleagues were comprised of such well-known public men as Howe, Archibald, McCully and Annand.

His Honor was officially informed of the intended visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, which caused great rejoicing. The legislature voted a liberal sum for the reception and entertainment of the illustrious visitor, which was largely supplemented by private generosity, Halifax surpassing itself in magnificence, cordiality and enthusiasm during the royal visit.

In the following year the death of His Royal Highness Prince Albert, the most estimable husband of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and father of the above-mentioned prince, caused genuine regret.

Halifax, the capital of the province, has had its share of serious conflagrations, with the attendant losses and inconveniences incidental to all such visitations.

The province was well represented by exhibits at the second great international exhibition in London in 1862.

A general election took place in 1863, which resulted in the defeat and resignation of the Liberal administration and the return of the Johnston-Tupper regime.

The Earl of Mulgrave having retired from the lieutenant-governorship parliament was opened by

Major-General Doyle as administrator, and Mr. Wade elected Speaker. The provincial secretary, Dr. Charles Tupper, introduced and carried through a very important and useful education bill. The Opposition, while approving of the measure generally, pointed out one feature of the bill as objectionable, whereby the Executive Council was to constitute the Council of Public Instruction, which was calculated to give the government undue influence in the working out of the system—an apprehension which was probably unfounded.

The government was now reconstructed. The premier and attorney-general, Mr. Johnston, retired to fill a vacancy in the judgeship of the Supreme Equity Court. Dr. Tupper succeeded to the premiership, and Mr. Henry to the attorney-generalship.

Government of Sir Richard Graves Macdonell.

Sir Richard Graves Macdonell was appointed to the lieutenant-governorship in June of 1864. Dr. Tupper, ever a good Unionist, introduced a resolution in the Assembly upon the commendable question of reunion of the Maritime Provinces. Resolutions to the same effect were adopted by the legislature of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The outcome of these proceedings was the appointment of a conference to meet in Charlottetown in September. Meantime, the lieutenant-governors of the Maritime Provinces were asked by the governor-general of Canada, whether the conference at Charlottetown would be willing to receive a deputation from the Canadian government, who desired to submit a larger scheme of union.

The respective maritime governments agreed to receive the proposed deputation, consequently a delegation was sent from Canada, consisting of John A. Macdonald, George Brown, G. E. Cartier, A. T. Galt, T. D. Magee, H. L. Langevin, William Macdougall and Alexander Campbell.

After hearing addresses from the Canadian delegation, the conference adjourned to meet in Quebec on the 10th of October, where the following named thirty-three able and representative delegates from the five provinces assembled. The deliberations lasted until the 28th of October, and resulted most happily. A basis of federal union, subject to the approval of the provincial legislatures, and of the Imperial government, was agreed upon. The delegates from Canada were: Premier Tache, J. A. Macdonald, Brown, Cartier, Galt, Campbell, Macdougall, Magee, Langevin, J. Cockburn, Mowat and Chapais.

From Nova Scotia: Tupper, Henry, Dickey, Archibald and McCully.

From New Brunswick: Tilly, J. M. Johnston, Chandler, Gray, Fisher, Mitchell and Steeves.

From Prince Edward Island: A. A. Macdonald, Haviland, Gray, Palmer, W. H. Pope, Coles and Whelan.

From Newfoundland: Carter and Shea.

The noble and patriot scheme was most favorably received by the people of Canada, and ratified by a large majority in the Canadian parliament. It was also ratified by the parliament of Nova Scotia, although, unfortunately, very strong opposition was apparent throughout the county. One of the chief causes alleged against the proposal was for not hav-

ing submitted the question to a popular vote. Some objections were also urged against the financial terms, but the latent feeling was probably owing to a pardonable, or it might be said, praiseworthy pride and national sentiment. Nova Scotians having been the leaders of representative government among the negotiating provinces, and had also achieved a somewhat glorious and historic fame as a nation within a nation, and to now enter into a union under the name of Canada would to them appear something like self-effacement. Nova Scotians and the other maritime people need not fear, however, that their grand old history and prestige will pass into oblivion. The inhabitants of the Upper Provinces are only too happy to share in the glory of the Maritime Provinces, and will always take an especial pride and pleasure in the perpetuation of respect, and interest in their history during the period of their existence as separate provinces, and also of their subsequent history—as most important members of the great confederation.

The majority of the people of New Brunswick seemed at first even more hostile than those of Nova Scotia. They, however, became reconciled much sooner than those of the last-named province.

The province of Prince Edward Island did not enter into actual union until six years after the entrance of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick into the union.

The province of Newfoundland still stands aloof, but it is fondly hoped that she will soon cast in her lot as did the other provinces of the Dominion, where she will be treated with respect and liberality. It is to be regretted that Newfoundland labors under a treaty disadvantage through no fault of its own peo-

ple. We refer to certain fishing privileges which were accorded to France, as affecting the western portion of the shores of the province. It is the old story of too much generosity on the part of British diplomatists, in so far at any rate as British American interests were concerned. It is to be hoped, in the case of Newfoundland, that the Imperial government will spare no effort to arrange in some equitable way, by exchange or otherwise, with France for a complete withdrawal of any vested rights, as affecting that important and interesting province, and also for the acquisition by Newfoundland of the adjacent islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which now belong to France.*

Lieutenant-Governor Sir R. G. Macdonell was retired to Hong Kong after proroguing the House and expressing his gratification over confederation prospects. He was succeeded in the government by no less a native Nova Scotian than the gallant Sir Fenwick Williams, the before-mentioned hero of Kars.

Government of Sir Fenwick Williams.

The general election for both Dominion and provincial members took place in September of 1867. Nova Scotia was assigned nineteen members to the House of Commons at Ottawa, and the former provincial representation was reduced from fifty-five to thirty-eight members, and ten senators were appointed to the Senate at Ottawa.

Owing to the bitter anti-confederation feeling

* Since the above was written King Edward has fortunately made a treaty with France which practically relieves the situation, upon which Newfoundland is to be congratulated.

which was engendered, eighteen of the nineteen members elected to the House of Commons, and thirty-six of the thirty-eight elected members of the provincial Assembly were opposed to the union which had already taken place.

The provincial premier, Dr. Tupper, having entered the federal arena, was succeeded by Mr. Blanchard as premier and attorney-general, who with his colleagues carried on the government until the result of the election was known, after which they resigned and Mr. Annand formed an anti-confederation government, which met the House in January of 1868, and elected Mr. Marshall, member for Guysboro', as Speaker. During the session Attorney-General Wilkins proposed a resolution looking to a repeal of the union of the recently united provinces so far as Nova Scotia was concerned. The resolution was of course carried by a large majority, and Messrs. Howe, Annand, Troop and Smith were appointed as delegates to the Imperial government to urge a repeal of the union. Dr. Tupper also proceeded to the same tribunal to present the other side of the case. The agitation for repeal unfortunately continued for a long period, but has finally subsided, and Nova Scotia now takes an important, respected and harmonious position in the family membership of Canada, where she will doubtless ever continue to be an influential and prosperous member.

CAPE BRETON.

The historic former Island Province of Cape Breton, though finally merged into Nova Scotia more than eighty years ago, deserves at least some separate mention among the early provinces.

The island continued to be a French colony for a few years after Nova Scotia permanently became a British colony. French rule having ended, Cape Breton was annexed to Nova Scotia in 1763, with a representation of two members in the Nova Scotian Assembly, the population of the island then being about four thousand souls. During the French regime, Louisbourg was its principal town. After twenty-one years of union with Nova Scotia it became a separate colony, with Sydney as the capital. It has had its series of councils and lieutenant-governors, attorney-generals, judges and all the paraphernalia of officials for a large colony, and it was no fault of its inhabitants that it did not have a parliament as well, which had been duly applied and pressed for by the inhabitants; but the Imperial government evidently deemed the proposal a preposterous one for so few people, and advised them to cast in their lot with Nova Scotia again. Government was carried on by lieutenant-governors, councils, and a large staff of officials for thirty-four years, with all the bickering and official wrangling incidental to unruly empire. The expense of the government in the way of salaries, if the people had it to pay, would have amounted to about $7 for every man, woman and child, without a dollar for public improvement. It is not surprising that the ambitious little province was again merged into Nova Scotia. This event, which happened in 1820, resulted in a representation of two members from Cape Breton to the Nova Scotian Assembly. The satisfactory disposal of the officials has already been adverted to under the head of Nova Scotia.

Cape Breton had commenced to fill up rapidly with a good hardy population, chiefly from the Highlands

of Scotland, and possessed four well-settled and prosperous counties. It has most valuable coal and agricultural lands, important fisheries and other resources; and it is destined to be among the richest districts of the Dominion, which justifies largely the very sanguine anticipations of its early inhabitants. And who knows but that the request of this handful of people for a parliament of their own, nearly one hundred years ago, was for the purpose of obtaining a more smooth-working government than that obtained by a semi-military council and other official nabobs who ruled the little province.

CHAPTER X.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

Government of Colonel Thomas Carleton.

NEW BRUNSWICK, formerly a part of Acadia and Nova Scotia, was now a province with representative government; the first governor being Colonel Thomas Carleton, brother of Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester), whose name is so favorably met with in the history of Lower Canada.

The legislature consisted of a nominated Council of twelve members who were vested with both legislative and executive functions, and a House of Assembly of twenty-six members elected by the inhabitants in the autumn of 1785. The first session of parliament was held at St. John, January, 1786. The first members of the Legislative and Executive Councils were as follows: D. Ludlow, Putnam, Williard, G. G. Ludlow, Hazen, Odell, Studholm, Winslow, Upham, D. Bliss, Beverly Robinson, jr., Leonard Saunders, Sproule, J. M. Bliss, Wetmore, J. R. Robinson, Black, Hoiles, Street, Lockwood, Stone, Jarvis, W. Botsford, Baillie, Hurd, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, Peters, F. P. Robinson, Simonds.

The first members of the Assembly were, for the city and county of St. John: Bliss, Chipman, Billops, Williams, Pagan, Hazard and McGeorge; Westmore-

land, Amos Botsford; Charlotte, Paine, Campbell, Pagan and Clynch; Kings, J. Coffin and E. Foster; Queens, Dickenson and Yeamans; York, Murray, Atwood, Lyman and Steele; Sunbury, Hubbard, Vanderburgh; Northumberland, Hardy.

His Honor opened the first parliament in the following excellent speech, which is worth quoting in full:

"*Gentlemen of the Council and Gentlemen of the Assembly:*

"A meeting of the several branches of the legislature, for the first time in this new province, is an event of so great importance, and must prove so conducive to its stability and prosperity, that I feel the highest satisfaction at feeling His Majesty's endeavors to procure the inhabitants every protection of free government, in so fair a way of being finally successful.

"The preceding winter was necessarily spent in guarding the people against those numerous wants incident to their peculiar situation, and the summer has been employed as well in the prosecution of this essential business, as in dividing the province and establishing the several offices and courts of justice requisite for the security of the farmer, while engaged in raising a support for his family. And now that the season of the year renders travelling commodious, and allows you leisure to attend the public business without interruption to your private affairs, I have called you together in compliance with the royal instructions, that you may put a finishing hand to the arduous task of organizing the province, by re-enact-

ing such of the Nova Scotia laws as are applicable to our situation, and passing such bills as you shall judge best calculated to maintain our rapid advance towards a complete establishment in this country.

"*Gentlemen of the Council:*

"That branch of the laws of the old province which relates to crimes and misdemeanors I would recommend to your first consideration; they are for the most part, if not altogether, extracted from the statute law of England, and will become our best security for the quiet and permanent enjoyment of private liberty and property. As it may in some instance perhaps admit of a doubt what part of those laws extend to this province, and which are lost by the erecting of the distinct administration, it will be most eligible, by renewing them, to leave no possibility of uncertainty in a matter so nearly affecting the happiness of individuals and peace of the community. Those laws also which relate to the execution of justice, civil and criminal, make another important object of your attention; and as the assistance of the judges will be required in forming or reviewing them, they will of course, I suppose, originate with you.

"*Gentlemen of the Assembly:*

"Among the numerous subjects which will fall under your consideration, after you have adopted such acts of the province of Nova Scotia as you may find necessary or proper, I would particularly point out a bill providing for the election of members to serve in the General Assembly, and for the regulating of all such elections, as well as determining the qualification of electors. A law for registering anew all grants of

lands, lying within the province, and made before our division from Nova Scotia, is necessary for ascertaining titles to estates, and will prove of the greatest use in their preservation. I am, therefore, instructed to recommend it.

"*Gentlemen of the Council and Gentlemen of the Assembly*:

"I shall decline entering further into the particular objects that may be proper for your consideration in the course of the present session, but shall leave them to be occasionally communicated by message; in the meantime I have the fullest confidence, that you will enter on the public business with a hearty disposition to join me in whatever may tend to the welfare of this infant colony.

"The liberality of the British government to the unfortunate Loyalists in general, and the peculiar munificence and parental care of our most Gracious Sovereign to those of them settled in New Brunswick, call loudly for every return that an affectionate and favored people can make; and I am persuaded you cannot better show your gratitude on this behalf for the many unexampled instances of national and royal bounty, than by promoting sobriety, industry, and the practice of religion, by discouraging all party distinctions amongst us, and inculcating the utmost harmony between the newly arrived loyalists and those of His Majesty's subjects formerly resident in the province. And gentlemen, it is with real pleasure I declare that our prospects are so favorable that your exertions for those beneficial purposes can scarcely fail to render this asylum of loyalty the envy of the

neighboring states, and that, by exercising the arts of peace, they who have taken refuge here will not only be abundantly recompensed for their losses, but be enabled to enjoy their connection with the parent state and retain their allegiance for the best of kings, which their conduct has proved they prize above all considerations."

The seat of government was removed to St. Ann's (now Fredericton), in 1786. The first council was comprised almost exclusively of United Empire Loyalists and members of the English Church, and it has been remarked that New Brunswick was kept much longer under the sway of the oligarchy than any of the other provinces. As an instance: the Honorable and Reverend Jonathan Odell and his son held the offices of the provincial secretary, registrar and clerk of the council for more than sixty years. Several other members of the Council held office for prolonged periods, shrewdly making it a point to always keep on good terms with the governors and presidents to the exclusion as much as possible of the assemblymen.

His Honor Governor Carleton presided over the province directly for the long term of nineteen years, and indirectly for fourteen years longer by means of substitutes, designated presidents. No real successor to Carleton was appointed until the year 1817. During this period the Assembly, owing to the non-existence of the responsible system of government, were, as usual in such cases, largely ignored by the Council.

The New Brunswick assemblymen were, however, more successful—but not without a struggle—in obtaining a sessional allowance than the more modest Lower Canada members, some of whom really needed

an allowance, but received none whatever. In the first parliament the Assembly passed a bill authorizing the very moderate per diem allowance of a dollar and a half. The bill was thrown out by the Council. The Assembly, not to be outdone by the Council, shrewdly tacked an appropriation for their services in the general appropriation bill. The Council continued obdurate for three years, during which no supply bill was passed. Finally the Council yielded, and the members got their allowances, after which harmony ensued for a time. Meantime the new province continued to develop and prosper. The fiscal policy of the Imperial government, which admitted colonial timber free, and taxed the Baltic timber heavily, gave a great impetus to the New Brunswick timber trade.

The declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain in 1812 evoked much loyalty and sympathy towards the Mother Country. A local regiment was formed, to be known as the King's Regiment of New Brunswick, and the legislature adopted patriotic resolutions, and performed other encouraging acts towards the volunteers.

The legislature petitioned the home government repeatedly for an appointment of a regular lieutenant-governor instead of the series of presidents who presided after the departure of Colonel Carleton. Finally, Major-General George Steacy Smyth was appointed governor in 1818.

Government of General George Steacy Smyth.

The Council and Assembly had again disagreed very seriously about the disposal of the revenues. The new lieutenant-governor sided with the Council, and

dissolved parliament. Another dissolution ensued two years later, owing to the death of King George III. These dissolutions did not, however, have the effect of allaying the friction between the two branches of the legislature. Meanwhile, His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Smyth died. A scramble then arose between Judge Chipman and the Hon. Christopher Billop, for the position of administrator, which the latter claimed by virtue of seniority, and issued a proclamation to that effect. His claim was, however, ignored upon the irreverent plea of his great age, he being then in his eighty-eighth year.

Judge Chipman was sworn in as administrator and opened parliament, but died suddenly while the House was in session. He was succeeded by the Hon. J. M. Bliss, who presided until the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Howard Douglas in 1824. Lumbering at this time seemed to be the chief pursuit of the New Brunswickers, to the neglect of agriculture.

Government of Sir Howard Douglas.

His Honor Governor Douglas met parliament early in 1825, and urged greater attention to agriculture and the construction of colonization roads, both of which had been apparently neglected owing to the increasing timber trade of the province so largely engrossing the attention of the inhabitants.

During this year the Miramichi bush fire of unparalleled severity occurred. The loss of life was appalling, and the destruction of property was estimated at one million dollars, and the loss in timber was past calculation, all of which was a crushing blow to the young province. Much sympathy of a

tangible kind was extended by the sister provinces and the Mother Country, yet the damage and prostration incurred by the fire was long felt.

The unsettled boundary question between New Brunswick and the State of Maine caused some uneasiness and disturbance until the affair was settled by a mutual reference of the dispute to the King of the Netherlands.

The trade policy of the home government, tending towards free trade, alarmed the timber interests of the province by admitting Baltic and other timber upon an equal footing with colonial timber, which the legislature of the province petitioned earnestly against.

His Honor having taken such strong ground with the people of the province against the fiscal policy of the home government, felt it his duty to resign, greatly to the sorrow of the people of New Brunswick. His conduct in this matter was unique in the history of colonial governors. The legislature manifested its appreciation of the retiring governor by the presentation of a handsome service of plate.

The Honorable William Black assumed the government as administrator in 1827, pending the arrival of Sir Archibald Campbell in 1831.

Government of Sir Archibald Campbell.

The struggle for responsible government which had agitated the other provinces now extended to New Brunswick. The province, as already stated, had its oligarchy, consequently abuses and monopolies naturally crept into the then irresponsible department of the Crown lands and finance.

The Reform party was ably led by Lemeul Allan Wilmot, who with his followers succeeded, after a protracted struggle, in securing a sound system of government despite the counter tenacity of the oligarchy, backed up by an ultra Tory governor, which resulted in the sending by the opposition of delegates upon two occasions to the Mother Country for the purpose of submitting a report upon the state of the province, with proposed reforms.

The home government, in 1832, acceded to all the propositions of the Reform delegates with some slight modifications, but on the whole the concessions were quite satisfactory and practically conceded the principles of executive responsibility. The Legislative Council was to discontinue to perform the functions of both an Executive and Legislative Council. An Executive Council was to be formed, which enjoyed the confidence of the majority in the Assembly.

The governor was, however, determined against carrying out the proposed reforms, and essayed to frustrate the will of both the Assembly and the home government, which caused tremendous political excitement. His Honor was so persistent in his stubborn and disobedient course as to send the Hon. G. F. Street on a secret mission to the home government with a proposal and arguments to secure, if possible, a reversal of the proposed responsible system of government. Mr. Street's mission having failed, His Honor resigned, and Sir John Harvey succeeded to the government, after which everything went on smoothly.

The Assembly, out of gratitude to the home government, requested the colonial minister, Lord Glenelg, to allow a full-length portrait of himself to be painted. The picture now hangs at the back of the Speaker's chair in the House of Assembly, Fredericton.

Sir John Harvey's regime was eminently satisfactory to the province. He had his troubles, but not with his own people. The difficulty arose chiefly over the renewal of the Maine boundary trouble. It is alleged that, although the King of the Netherlands awarded the Americans the lion's share of the disputed territory, still the latter would not abide by the award, as it did not give them all they claimed. In the meantime some lawless persons from New Brunswick went into the disputed territory and cut timber, whereupon Governor Fairfield, of Maine, sent a large party of constables to expel the intruders and seize the timber. A fight ensued, which resulted in a mutual capture. The British warden was carried off to Augusta, and the American land agent was carried off to Fredericton. The people of both New Brunswick and Maine became terribly excited and intemperate in their mutual denunciations. Governor Fairfield sent two thousand men to hold the disputed territory. Sir John Harvey issued a proclamation claiming the disputed territory as British, and called upon Governor Fairfield to withdraw his troops, to which the Maine governor responded by calling out ten thousand state militia. Sir John Harvey thereupon despatched two British regiments, the 36th and 60th, and a train of artillery to the upper St. John

River to watch the movements of the American militia. The people of New Brunswick supported the regular soldiers most enthusiastically; volunteering took place in great numbers. The sister province of Nova Scotia, as before stated, tendered large aid in both men and money.

President Van Buren at Washington, to his credit be it said, took a rational view of the matter, and sent General Winfield Scott to confer with Sir John Harvey in a friendly manner, which was duly reciprocated. The result was a withdrawal of troops on both sides. An unsuccessful attempt was made to settle the question by fresh surveys, but each party of engineers made out clear cases in favor of the contention of the respective countries. Finally, a commission was appointed to settle the difficulty. The Americans appointed the famous Daniel Webster, a good choice for them; the British government appointed Lord Ashburton, a very amiable old gentleman, who let Webster have nearly all his own way, by which New Brunswick was despoiled of nearly 7,000 square miles of well timbered and agricultural lands, which the New Brunswickers honestly believe belong by right to their province. A glance at the map of Maine, with its inconsistent and protruding looking northern boundary line certainly seems like a palpable encroachment on the part of Maine. These aggravating facts are not stated for the purpose of exciting ill-feeling between the two kindred peoples of Canada and the United States, but merely to show how much more alive to the interests of their own country were the American diplomatists than were the British commissioners, who evidently did not real-

ize or appreciate what they were good-naturedly giving away on that and similar occasions.

Sir John Harvey continued to administer the affairs of New Brunswick most satisfactorily until he resigned in 1841, owing to a slight difference between Lord Sydenham, the governor-general, and himself. He was succeeded by Sir William Colebrooke.

Government of Sir William Colebrooke.

The Assembly had now triumphed; but as frequently happens in similar cases in both politics and religion, the victorious party rushed to extremes. Such proved to be the case with the Liberals in the New Brunswick Assembly in the matter of expenditure, who were so lavish that the surplus of six hundred thousand dollars was soon all spent, and a debt incurred, besides impairing the credit of the province, making it expedient to resort to borrowing. The prodigality of the first responsible Cabinet rather discredited the new system instead of otherwise rendering it popular, which might have otherwise been accomplished by a due observance of sound financial principles. The tension was further aggravated from the fact that the country was on the eve of a most serious general depression.

At the next general election the contest was most bitter and violent, resulting in the overthrow of the new system, and the triumph of the old methods for a time; but even its supporters in the Assembly soon objected to the working of the old system, under which the governor took the appointments entirely in his own hands, and the Crown lands and other departments were now mismanaged. Finally, through the efforts of Messrs. L. A. Wilmot and Charles Fisher,

the system of responsible government became firmly established by a large majority of the votes of both political parties.

Sir William Colebrooke retired from the governorship in 1842, and was succeeded by Sir Edmund Walker Head, the first regularly appointed civilian governor of the province, and who subsequently became governor-general of Canada.

Government of Sir Edmund Walker Head.

Matters went on passably well under Governor Head. The chief topic of discussion was the trade question. High protection for manufacturers, and a bounty for fishermen and growers of hemp, were advocated by a majority in the Assembly.

The home government looked upon the proposed fiscal policy with disfavor, which the Assembly disregarded, and proceeded with bills upon the lines of protection in a spirit of enthusiasm, which, however, was cut short by the action of the Legislative Council in rejecting the bills.

Sir Edmund Head having presided for six years, was succeeded by Sir J. H. T. Manners Sutton in 1854, who remained eight years.

Government of Sir Manners Sutton.

It was during Sir Manners Sutton's regime that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales visited the province, and received a most enthusiastic welcome.

The "Trent" affair, which caused a great commotion for a short period in the early part of the American Civil War, also occurred during His Honor's term. Matters now went on in a regular way, varied

only by visions of future enterprises. Party spirit, however, became more intense about the year 1855, chiefly over a movement for retrenchment, the principal point of attack being the judges' salaries, which the latter naturally resented, and in which they were supported by the home government.

The question of free trade and protection was also a live issue, in which the Imperial government again interfered, causing a commotion in both the legislature and the country.

The next very important question was that of the great scheme in 1864 for the confederation of the British North America provinces, a subject which keenly enlisted popular attention. The Intercolonial Railway and its route also attracted much interest.

Mr. A. J. Smith, afterwards Sir Albert Smith, a high-minded statesman led the anti-confederates, while Mr. S. L. Tilley, afterwards Sir Leonard Tilley, also an able, exemplary and much respected statesman, led the union party.

The session of 1866 is said to have been one of the most exciting for many years. The electors had pronounced strongly against confederation, and the premier, Mr. A. J. Smith, was at the head of a formidable anti-confederate government, but the Legislative Council and Lieutenant-Governor Gordon, were so strongly in favor of the union scheme that a reaction took place. Mr. Smith finally resigned, and Mr. Tilley, then a Liberal in New Brunswick politics, was called upon to form a government. A new election was held, resulting decidedly in favor of confederation. The province, therefore, in due course, happily became an important member of the great confederated Dominion of Canada.

CHAPTER XI.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

Government of Walter Patterson, 1736.

THE beautiful and fertile island province of Prince Edward Island was known for a considerable time by the name of St. John, both while under the French and British regime.

Little or no government history appears to have been made while it remained a French possession. It became permanently British as early as 1763, the population then not exceeding 4,000 souls, mostly Acadians, many of whom withdrew from the province consequent upon the change of sovereignty. The island formed part of Nova Scotia for about seven years, until 1770, after which it became a separate province, and three years later, in 1773, representative government was established with Walter Patterson, one of the land monopolists of the island, as governor. The legislature consisted of a Council, which was both legislative and executive in its functions, and an elected Assembly of eighteen members.

Although the land was both fertile and comparatively accessible, actual settlement was somewhat tardy, owing to a bad land policy, which placed the island originally in the hands of quasi proprietors,

mostly absentees, a state of things which subsequently caused very great dissatisfaction, as will be seen.

In 1774 financial stringency was experienced. The chief source of revenue was from what was known as quit-rents, which were grudgingly, irregularly, and in some instances not paid at all, and at times insufficient to pay the fixed salaries, including one clergyman. The Assembly had accumulated £3,000 for the erection of public buildings, but which now had to be used for the payment of salaries instead.

The exclusiveness of the Church of England,* it is said, was also partly to blame for the slow progress of settlement, in not allowing Roman Catholics to settle in the province.

The legislature appears to have had a resident agent-general, Mr. Stuart, to represent it in the Mother Country, which was of advantage to the permanent settlers in the making known of their feelings.

During the American revolution, two privateers swooped down upon defenceless Charlottetown while Lieutenant-Governor Patterson was absent, and carried off Mr. Colebeck with some other prisoners, and also whatever booty they could lay hands upon. This hostile act was, however, denounced by General Washington, who ordered the release of the prisoners and the restoration of the booty. After this outrage the Imperial government stationed the man-of-war *Hunter* at the island for its protection.

The Assembly, in 1777, endeavored ineffectually to deal with the complicated land question, which was rendered all the more difficult, owing to the lieutenant-governor himself being pecuniarily interested. The

* Tuttle's History, Vol. I., p. 474.

discontent finally led to his removal, but not before many subsequent struggles took place. Some lands were sold for taxes which suddenly became valuable. The original owners then set up a claim to redeem the lands by having the Tax Sale Act set aside. The governor did not appear to advantage in these proceedings. He essayed repeatedly to get control of the Assembly by capricious dissolutions and other devices —in all of which he failed—until finally, through the influx of United Empire Loyalists he secured a majority in the House, which, however, did not avail him greatly, as the home government had been all along disapproving of his conduct, a fact which he concealed until it became notorious.

The Imperial government instructed Colonel Fanning to replace Patterson, but the latter would not leave. The islanders were therefore treated to the novel spectacle of having for months two rival governors at the same time. Peremptory orders having again reached Patterson to vacate the position permanently, he then returned to England where he was apparently soon deserted by both friends and fortune.

As regards the controversy over the land tax-sale question, eleven years having elapsed during these struggles of legislation and disallowances, the tangled subject was meanwhile permitted to drift and to remain in abeyance.

Government of Colonel Fanning.

Governor Fanning (1798) presided over the province as governor for eighteen years. It was during his regime that the name of the province was changed from St. John to Prince Edward Island. The legis-

lature had adopted the name of New Ireland, which, however, was disallowed by the Imperial government; the original name of St. John then stood for some time longer, until His Royal Highness Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, then commander-in-chief of the forces in North America, ordered the harbor of Charlottetown to be fortified and new barracks to be built. This action so pleased the inhabitants that the legislature, in 1798, happily adopted the present aristocratic name —Prince Edward—in compliment to him.

The settlement of the province went on very slowly under the proprietary system, a fact which constrained the Assembly to petition the king, praying that the proprietors should be at least compelled to fulfil the easy conditions upon which the land had been granted to them, or otherwise have the lands escheated to the Crown. At this period nearly half the island was unsettled. The petition of the Assembly finally received some attention on the part of the home government, and Governor Fanning was instructed by it to allow legislative action to be taken. The legislature gladly acted upon the instructions and passed a bill in furtherance of this petition, but to the amazement of the provincial authorities the Imperial government inconsistently disallowed the bill, probably through the representations and pleadings of that portion of the proprietors resident in the Mother Country. The Legislature were greatly irritated over this unfair treatment, and drew up strong remonstrances which were forwarded to the home government by Lieutenant-Governor Fanning, and although seemingly unheeded probably resulted in some good, as sales and commutations soon followed, resulting in a great im-

petus to actual settlement, which was accelerated three years later by a large influx of Highlanders under the auspices of the Earl of Selkirk. When the census was now taken it was found that one-third of the population had " Mac " in the first syllable of their surnames. Only ten families in the whole province unitedly representing the common names of Smith, Brown, Robinson and Jones.

The population in 1804 was doubled, but still did not exceed 10,000 souls.

Colonel Fanning resigned the lieutenant-governorship in 1804, and was succeeded by Colonel de Barres, formerly of Cape Breton, in 1805.

Government of Colonel de Barres.

Nothing of very unusual moment occurred during the eight years' incumbency of de Barres. The Assembly was, however, in a pretty dissatisfied mood over the fickle or indifferent conduct of the home government in the matter of the disallowance of the Escheats Bill, after having suggested the enactment of the bill.

Colonel de Barres was succeeded in 1813 by Mr. Charles Douglas Smith, a brother of the celebrated Sydney Smith, evidently a most unsuitable person for the position.

Government of Charles Douglas Smith.

Mr. Smith tyrannized over the Assembly and the people in the most heartless manner by a series of dissolutions and dismissals for the long term of eleven

years. He treated some of the inhabitants so harshly and cavalierly as to almost drive them to desperation.* Periods of upwards of three years were illegally allowed to lapse without calling the legislature together.

The first newspaper, the *Register,* appeared in 1823, and the editor was soon placed in the toils by Governor Smith, for publishing the proceedings of the public meetings. This tyrannical bully was at length recalled in 1824, to the intense relief of the inhabitants.

Government of Colonel Ready.

Colonel Ready succeeded to the lieutenant-governorship, and was welcomed with transports of joy. His Honor called a meeting of the House for January, 1825. John Stewart was elected Speaker, and the House busied itself with the passing of several important bills relating to the departments of justice, finance, education, and the fisheries, etc.

The following session was equally useful and harmonious. The Roman Catholics petitioned for a removal of their political disabilities. The Imperial parliament moreover had not yet disposed of that question, therefore no immediate action was taken.

The annual imports now reached the very respectable sum of $400,000, and the exports $450,000. One item of imports did not indicate that total abstinence was much in evidence at that period, as the quantity of strong drink entered for consumption was equal to

* Campbell's History ; Tuttle's History, Vol. I., p. 474.

two gallons and a half for every man, woman and child in the province.

His Honor, on his return from England, met parliament in March, 1827, and congratulated the province upon the great internal improvement which had taken place. Roads had been surveyed and constructed. The formation of an agricultural association, and arrangements for the taking of the census were entered upon. A vote was now taken in the Assembly upon the question of removing the political disabilities of the Roman Catholics, which ought to have been unanimous, but resulted in an even vote, the Speaker giving his casting vote in favor of further delay. A bill was, however, finally passed in 1830, removing every disability from Roman Catholics. Some friction now took place between the Assembly and Council over the money appropriation bill, which was a contingency always likely to arise in the absence of a responsible system of government.

A bill was passed providing for the establishment of a non-sectarian college, and the province was now being rapidly developed by a good class of actual settlers.

Colonel Ready's term as lieutenant-governor was brought to a termination by the Imperial government in 1831, greatly to the regret of all the people, he having done much to improve the material condition of the province. He had also endeavored to establish peace and contentment among all classes so far as the land regulations would permit, thereby earning the love and admiration of a grateful people during his seven years' term of office.

Government of Colonel A. W. Young.

Colonel Ready was succeeded by Colonel A. W. Young, who arrived in 1831, and met parliament in January, 1832. Several useful Acts were passed at this session, which included a subsidy of £300 annually for a bi-weekly mail service by steamer between Charlottetown and Pictou, N.S.

The parliamentary term was now shortened from seven years to four years. The census of the province was taken in 1833, which showed a population of 32,000 souls, a very satisfactory increase on the previous decade. His Honor visited England in 1854, and was rewarded with a knighthood. A general election was held on his return the same year, and parliament met in the following January.

The Council and Assembly got at variance over the appropriation bill, and no supplies were voted by the legislature.

His Honor, despite serious indisposition, sagaciously effected a conciliation between the discordant bodies in an extra session, which he was, however, too ill to prorogue in person, and died the same year at the age of fifty-eight years, after an active and useful life in the public service in various parts of the world, the duties of which he discharged with perfect satisfaction to all concerned.

The Honorable George Wright was sworn in as administrator until the arrival of Sir John Harvey in February of 1836. The last-named only remained in the province for one year, when he was transferred to New Brunswick.

Sir Charles Augustus Fitz-Roy was appointed to succeed Sir John Harvey, and arrived in June, 1837.

GOVERNMENT OF SIR CHARLES AUGUSTUS FITZ-ROY.

His Honor was not long in finding out the crying injustice to which the farmers were subjected under the original land policy. He issued a circular to the land proprietors advising them to sell the lands to the tenants at a moderate price, and upon easy terms of payment, or otherwise pay the tenants for their improvements, in order that they might acquire lands in fee simple elsewhere.

The Assembly enacted a law providing for the assessment on all lands in the province, which the proprietors opposed. A report was prepared by Messrs. Haviland and Hodgson, and other members of the Assembly, which showed that of the sum of £107,603 expended in improvements during the previous ten years, the proprietors only contributed £7,413.

Lord Durham also made an able and exhaustive report upon the state of the province, in which his views were all decidedly in favor of the claims advanced by the actual settlers, and also of the contention of the legislature as against the monopoly of the proprietors. He advised the home government to end the present system without delay, a timely advice which the Imperial government accepted, but still deliberated upon a mode of procedure. The provincial legislature then made a three-fold proposition, viz., the establishment of a Court of Escheats; the resumption by the Crown of the rights of the proprietors, or a heavy penalty on wild lands. The Imperial government would not, however, accede to such a drastic mode, but recommended instead another basis of settlement.

The council was now remodelled by separating the executive and legislative branches. The Executive Council was now to be composed of twelve members, exclusive of the chief justice, who now retired. Some educationary and literary advances were made in the way of establishing a mechanics' institute, and courses of lectures, all of which proved to be very acceptable to the community.

His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Fitz-Roy having been appointed to a governorship in the West Indies, was succeeded by Sir Henry Vere Huntley, who arrived in 1841, and presided for six years, during which nothing very eventful in the way of legislation occurred.

Government of Sir Henry Vere Huntley.

A regrettable disturbance occurred in King's County in 1843, caused by the legal ejectment of a farmer named Haney, whose friends forcibly reinstated him, after burning the proprietor's house. The corner-stone of the new colonial building was laid by His Honor in 1843, amid much enthusiasm. The buildings were ready for the session in January of 1847. His Honor, however, did not greatly enjoy the event; his temper was so ruffled by the refusal of the legislature to enlarge and improve the government house at the same time. He, therefore, petulantly withdrew his name as patron of the Agriculture Society. His Royal Highness the Prince Consort Albert was then requested to become the patron of the society and complied immediately, much to the gratification of the executive.

A controversy arose between His Honor and Mr. Joseph Pope, Speaker of the House, and also a member of the Executive Council. His Honor requested that his salary be raised, which Mr. Pope opposed on the ground of economy. Whereupon His Honor dismissed Mr. Pope without consulting the council, otherwise that body would doubtless have supported Mr. Pope. Mr. Gladstone, who was then colonial secretary, informed His Honor that he had exceeded his powers, and must reinstate Mr. Pope, who, however, did not wish to be reinstated, but started a successful agitation against the reappointment of His Honor for another term, which the latter seemed anxious to obtain.

A most unfortunate election riot now occurred, in 1847, between the hot-headed Scotch and Irish factions in the Belfast district, in which four persons were killed and between eighty and one hundred others wounded.

The currency of the province now received much needed attention; several theories were propounded for an improved system, resulting in a favorable policy being adopted.

A series of resolutions in favor of the responsible system of government were adopted and embodied in an address to Her Majesty, praying that she would be graciously pleased to give effect to their request.

His Honor Governor Huntley was succeeded by Sir Donald Campbell in 1847, greatly to the delight of the Highland population of the province, who aided most enthusiastically in extending a cordial welcome to their countryman.

The legislature wisely passed an Act during the session of 1849 fixing all the elections for the same day throughout the province, which largely frustrated the gathering of the mob element.

A reply to the address, asking for the authorization of the responsible system of government was received from the colonial secretary, in which it was pointed out that the population was yet too small for the effective working of that system, but that the Assembly should now have chief control of the finances.

A general election took place in 1850, and responsible government was made the main issue at the polls. The result was strongly in favor of that system of government.

The new House met in March, and was so determinedly in favor of the proposed new system of government that they would vote the supplies only upon the condition of complete independence of the councils in the matter of the finances. His Honor tried to temporarize, and offered three seats in the Executive Council to members of the Assembly, but the offer was declined. The Assembly became so very obstinate that His Honor was finally forced to dismiss the House with a reprimand.

His Honor forwarded a very able despatch to the colonial secretary on the condition, resources and prospects of the province, which had the effect of conceding, on the part of the home government the responsible system of government, but His Honor Sir Donald Campbell did not live to see the new system

put into operation, he having died in October of the same year.

The Honorable Ambrose Lane acted as administrator until the arrival of Sir Alexander Bannerman, by ice-boat, in March, 1851.

Government of Sir Alexander Bannerman.

The legislature met on the 25th of the same month, when His Honor officially announced the welcome news that responsible government would be established forthwith, on condition that pensions would be provided for the retiring officials. To this the House readily assented, and a Cabinet was formed, comprised of Messrs. Coles, Joseph Pope, Charles Young and Warburton.

The House passed the necessary legislation to place all the departments in effectual working order. The rate of postage was reduced; educational interests which had hitherto been at a comparatively low ebb, were greatly improved by the adoption of a free school system.

Some agitation took place in favor of liquor prohibition, which, however, took no practical form. An Act was passed to establish universal suffrage, which resulted—as in similar instances elsewhere—in the overthrow, at the subsequent general election, of its apparently worthy authors. So much for public gratitude and consistency.

Sir Alexander Bannerman, having been appointed governor of the Bahama Islands in 1854, was succeeded by Sir Dominick Daly, a former member of the Canadian government.

Government of Sir Dominick Daly.

Parliament met in September, and ratified the reciprocity treaty. A policy of land purchase from the original proprietors was wisely adopted. The government purchased as largely as the public finances would permit, and applied to the Imperial government for a guarantee of its bonds to the extent of $100,000 to complete the purchases.

In the following year Charlottetown was incorporated as a city, and the Bank of Prince Edward Island established. Ten thousand dollars was contributed to the widows' and orphans' fund of those who fell in the Crimean War. A normal school was established. Two Acts rather prejudicial to the original land proprietors were passed.

At the opening of parliament in 1856 His Honor informed the House, to their great displeasure, that both of the Land Acts had been disallowed by the Imperial government upon the ground of a tendency to sacrifice certain vested rights of the proprietors. The expediency of compulsory Bible reading in the Central Academy and Normal School formed a warm subject for debate, which resulted in a close vote adversely to the use of the Bible in mixed schools.

A general election took place in 1858, the result of which was so equally balanced that neither party could elect a Speaker, whereupon another general election took place, which resulted in the defeat of the government. A new ministry was formed under the leadership of Mr. Palmer and Colonel Gray.

A reply was received from the home government declining to guarantee $100,000 for the purpose of purchasing more lands from the original proprietors.

An address was then voted requesting Her Majesty to appoint some disinterested persons to inquire into the existing difficulties between tenants and proprietors.

An important question was now raised between the Legislative Council and the Assembly as to the composition of the Executive Council. The Legislative Council claimed that the principle of responsible government had not been carried out, alleging that the heads of the departments who were members of the Assembly had not gone back to their constituents for re-election, after assuming office, and complained also that no member of the Legislative Council, nor any member of the Roman Catholic faith was admitted to the Executive Council. Upon these grounds the Legislative Council appealed to Her Majesty, praying for an interference with the alleged wrong-doing. The Assembly sent a counter appeal to Her Majesty in contradiction of the allegations of the Legislative Council, and claimed to have carried out the instructions of 1857, and that their course had been endorsed by the electors at the last election.

His Honor Sir Dominick Daly prorogued parliament in May, 1859, in a farewell address, he having been appointed to another governorship.

Mr. Charles Young was sworn in as administrator until the arrival of Mr. George Dundas, M.P., member for Linlithgow, who regularly assumed the government.

Government of George Dundas.

The Legislative Council and Assembly, as we have seen, were not acting harmoniously together. His Honor, therefore, called five new members to the

Legislative Council, who were favorable to the Assembly, thereby securing a working majority in both branches of the legislature.

Successful negotiations were now entered upon for securing a tribunal to adjust the differences on the land question. A commission was appointed, comprised of Mr. Joseph Howe, for the tenants; J. W. Ritchie, for the proprietors, and Mr. J. H. Gray, for the Crown. Each interest was represented by able council, and Mr. de Brisbay was appointed clerk. The commissioners were most painstaking and did not make their report until the following year.

The prospective visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales evoked much enthusiasm, and served to allay all bickerings for the time being. The royal visit proved to be a most happy one. The reception and welcome to the heir-apparent on the part of the Prince Edward Islanders could not have been more hearty or cordial than it was.

Quite a commotion was aroused over the threatened hostilities between Great Britain and the United States, consequent upon the high-handed and illegal conduct of Captain Wilkes of the American frigate "San Jacinto," in stopping the British West India mail steamer "Trent," upon the high seas and forcibly removing two of the passengers, Mason and Slidell, of the Confederate States. The danger was, however, averted through the common-sense statesmanship of the great and good President Lincoln, who manfully ordered the release of the two gentlemen, notwithstanding his bombastic and blustering environment of noisy people, who persisted in lionizing Captain Wilkes over his impudent and imprudent act. Had a collision unfortunately taken place between these

two great kindred powers, Prince Edward Island would have been ready to do her part in aid of the Mother Country.

The province was rapidly advancing in material progress, the several industries being in a flourishing condition. A most creditable display was made at the World's Fair in London in 1862. The Prince of Wales College was established in commemoration of the royal visit. The use of the Bible in public schools was legalized by parliamentary enactment.

The intelligence of the lamented death of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort caused wide-spread regret, which found official expression in the sincere resolutions of condolence by the legislature.

The able and exhaustive report of the land commissioners was now laid before parliament, and the recommendations which it contained were confirmed by the legislature; but the proprietors, on the other hand, were too dissatisfied with the report to admit of any immediate solution of the difficulty, and the burning question was therefore allowed to stand unadjusted for eleven years longer.

The Legislative Council having now been made elective, a dissolution of parliament ensued. The award of the commissioners was made an issue of the election campaign, and was ratified at the polls. Messrs. Palmer and W. H. Pope were sent as delegates to the home government for the purpose of endeavoring to secure an adjustment of the land question on the lines laid down by the commissioners, but were unsuccessful in their mission.

The proposed union of the Maritime Provinces now occupied public attention, and a meeting of delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with those of

the island province had been arranged for the first of September at Charlottetown. Meantime the governor-general of Canada requested permission, as has already been elsewhere stated, to send a number of delegates to the same convention with a proposal for a larger scheme of union embracing all the British North American colonies under the sway of His Excellency as governor-in-chief. The permission was readily granted by the respective lieutenant-governors. The meeting took place accordingly, and after some discussion it was ultimately agreed to adjourn the convention, and to reassemble in Quebec on the 10th of October.

The feeling in this province was for a time averse to a union with Canada upon the common basis, which was not exactly suited to the exceptional circumstances of the province. Mr. W. H. Pope was a strong supporter while his brother, Mr. J. C. Pope, was an equally strong opponent of the scheme. Later on, however, the little province was apprehensive that the much-needed railway system now under construction, and the means for the proposed extinction of the claim of the land proprietors, would press unduly upon the resources of the province, even although it was free of debt; therefore negotiations were renewed in 1873, and after the exercise of considerable diplomacy satisfactory conditions were happily reached, and the province entered the Dominion with a representation in the House of Commons of six members and in the Senate of three members. Representatives in accordance with these terms took their seats at Ottawa in October of 1873, where they were warmly welcomed on all hands.

CHAPTER XII.

PROVINCE OF CANADA.

From the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841 until the larger union of the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswic with the Province of Canada in 1867.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD SYDENHAM.

THE duties of His Excellency in consummating the complete union of the Canadas had already been somewhat arduous, but the responsibilities still before him were fraught with even greater anxiety and labor than that already experienced by him. The larger province (Lower Canada) now entering the union was comprised chiefly of people of a different language, race and religion from the people of the other province, and which had, moreover, been in a most disorganized condition for the preceding few years, and was not supposed or expected to be in general sympathy with the recent union, in which they practically had no voice, owing to the suspension of the constitution two years previously. Fresh measures for the practical and smooth working of the new constitution had to be devised and prepared chiefly by himself. The elections in eighty-four constituencies had to be arranged for, and a return of a majority of candidates favorable to the union secured, if possible,

by legitimate means, after which the harmonious working of the Executive Council and the two branches of the legislature had to be accomplished, which was no easy task amid the jarring environments. All this excessive toil and anxiety devolved upon His Excellency while suffering from chronic ill-health. It is little wonder that he expressed a desire to relinquish his responsibility the moment his mission was properly fulfilled, and "that he would not care," he said, "to continue in office even if he were made Duke of Canada with other titles thrown in." He seemed anxious to return to his native home with as little delay as possible, but which he was never destined to reach.

The first parliament of the united Province of Canada, as already stated in a previous chapter, met at Kingston on the 14th of June in a fairly commodious building, which had been formerly used as a hospital. The speech from the throne was very explicit and practical, so far as it went. One of its strongest points was in the intimation that the Imperial government were determined to defend the British provinces to the utmost as an integral portion of the Empire, and besides were willing to pledge the credit of the Mother Country to the extent of seven and a half millions of dollars for the improvement of the internal highways of the Province of Canada. Several useful bills were foreshadowed, but no reference was made to the question of responsible government. The reply to the speech from the throne lasted several days. The leaders of the Liberal party were determined to elicit a declaration upon the subject of

the promised concession of the responsible system of government. His Excellency evaded the question until tightly cornered, then admitted that the full measure of responsible government was not yet to be conceded by the Imperial government, which rendered His Excellency the virtual prime minister as well as governor, which was a mistaken policy, besides adding unduly to the labors of His Excellency, who was already overworked. Had the chief responsibility been thrown upon the leaders of the majority in the House it would have saved him an infinite amount of labor and worry. Under the existing system His Excellency declared that he breathed, ate, drank and slept upon politics, while attempting to assimilate the heterogeneous elements which comprised the two branches of the legislature.

One hundred and two useful and solid bills were passed during the session. His Excellency, now very weary and in poor health, applied to the home government to be relieved. He unfortunately shortly afterwards met with a severe accident by the falling of his horse, while out riding, and was now confined to his room. The session being over he was physically unable to prorogue parliament in person. The duties were therefore performed by General Clithero on the 18th of September. While on his death-bed, near his end, permission to retire, with the intimation of higher honors being conferred upon him, reached the dying man. His death took place on the day following the prorogation. He was greatly mourned by all people, and was buried in Kingston on the 24th of September.

Government of Sir Charles Bagot.

Sir Charles Bagot was appointed governor-general of Canada in October, and reached his destination near the end of December. He belonged to the opposite political party from Lord Sydenham in the Mother Country, but like his predecessor was strictly neutral in Canadian politics, and endeavored to harmonize and satisfy all interests in the most impartial manner. Sir Charles was a man of fine personal physique, and although not of an aggressive temperament he was nevertheless possessed of intelligence, firmness, experience and sound common-sense, and Lady Bagot, his wife, was a charming and popular woman.

One of His Excellency's early administrative steps, in the filling up of the portfolio of inspector-general by Francis Hincks, called down the unjustifiable wrath of the ultra-Conservatives. Mr. Hincks was a Reformer, and specially qualified for the post, a department analogous to that of finance minister of later times.

His Excellency's course was quite consistent, he having found a coalition ministry in office when he arrived, and was only continuing the system which had prevailed. Some ultra-Reformers, too, found fault with Mr. Hincks, on the other hand, for entering into a cabinet with Conservatives, and accused him of selling himself for office.

The discontent of the Conservatives, incited by the party press, seemed to increase rather than abate as time went on; such, then, was the state of the political barometer when parliament met in September.

His Excellency's opening speech was comprehensive and well-suited to the occasion. The address in reply was promptly adopted by the Legislative Council, but the Assembly deferred its consideration for a week, pending the preliminaries for the formation of a cabinet strictly upon the lines of the responsible system of government. The outcome of these formalities was the formation of the first Lafontaine-Baldwin administration.

The premier, Mr. Lafontaine, was an able, self-reliant lawyer and statesman. He had, however, in his earlier days sympathized, but only to a limited extent, with the Papineau party. He was now at any rate a gentleman of undoubted loyalty to the British Crown, and the envied great popular leader of his compatriots in Lower Canada, and now sat for North York, owing to his defeat in Terrebonne through an improperly held election. His colleague, Mr. Baldwin, the Upper Canada leader, was well known to be a moderate, prudent and loyal statesman. He now sat for Rimouski, in Lower Canada, he having been defeated during a most riotous election in Hastings. Much credit, therefore, was due the electors of both Rimouski and North York for their tolerant, reciprocal and enlightened conduct in providing the above-named statesmen with seats.

The ministry was comprised of Messrs. Lafontaine, Baldwin, Sullivan, Harrison, Killaly, Hincks, Small, Dunn, Daly, Aylwin and A. N. Morin, some of whom were Conservatives.

The Conservatives now raised a furious and insulting outcry against His Excellency over the alleged disloyal antecedents of Messrs. Baldwin and Morin.

These persistent and unjust hollow cries unfortunately found an echo in the Mother Country, and tended greatly to the perturbation of His Excellency, who had only acted constitutionally, consistently and in good faith, and was quite justified in relying with implicit confidence on the loyalty and patriotism of his ministers. The ministers under the new system all returned to their constituents for endorsation and were re-elected.

The session was a comparatively short one, only some thirty Acts of a useful and urgent character were passed. One much needed bill provided for greater freedom and better regulations of elections. A vote was taken during the session upon the seat of government question, which was adverse to Kingston as a permanent capital, and as no public buildings had yet been erected specially for parliamentary purposes, it was therefore quite feasible to withdraw from Kingston on short notice, if parliament so determined.

His Excellency's health was now greatly impaired. The unjust suspicion cast upon the loyalty of the leading members of his administration on both sides of the Atlantic were not by any means conducive to the recuperation of his health, he consequently continued to grow so weak in body that he was not equal to the opening of parliament, and applied for an immediate recall, intending to return to England forthwith; but his illness became so serious that he was compelled to remain in his bedroom, where he held his last cabinet meeting, bidding his ministers a cordial and tender farewell, accompanied with a request that they would defend his memory. The scene was a most pathetic

one, all present being moved to tears. His Excellency was assured by his ministers that the duty of defending his memory would be a righteous, easy and pleasant task. Time has already vindicated and justified the confidence which His Excellency placed in his ministers, a confidence which has never been abused. It can be truthfully said that Sir Charles Bagot set a wise example of tolerance and neutrality such as had not always been observed by Canadian governors until in more recent times.

Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed to succeed His Excellency as governor-general, and arrived on the 30th of March. Sir Charles Bagot lingered until the 19th May, when he was relieved of his sufferings by death. His remains were taken to England for interment. Lady Bagot never recovered from the loss of her estimable husband, whom she survived less than two years. The death of their Excellencies was greatly lamented, especially by the French-Canadians.

Government of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

The new governor-general, Sir Charles Metcalfe, an English Liberal in politics, was personally of an upright, generous hearted, courteous, and kindly disposition. He had been a successful acting governor of India and a governor of Jamaica, and was most popular with the inhabitants of said countries. It was upon this record that the Imperial government injudiciously selected him for the government of Canada, where the circumstances were totally different from those of India and Jamaica. There is good reason to believe that, furthermore, the instructions

to him by the colonial secretary, Lord Stanley, were not calculated to give loyal effect to the system of responsible government now adopted in Canada, a system which Sir Charles Metcalfe evidently did not fully understand, thereby causing his administration to be a great failure and a source of much violence and bitterness among the people of Canada, as we shall see.

His Excellency was not long in Canada when it transpired that he was not friendly to the system of responsible government which had already been regularly established and put in operation by Imperial authority; neither was he loyal to his sworn advisers, as it was notorious that he was guilty of the impropriety of conferring with members of the Opposition, and persisted in making appointments to office without consulting his sworn advisers, who enjoyed the confidence and support of three-fourths of the Assembly, and also of a good majority in the Legislative Council as well.

The ministry courteously remonstrated with him, but to their great surprise he held tenaciously to the old doctrine of being virtually premier and cabinet himself as well as governor-general. Under these circumstances there was nothing left but the very commendable course of resignation, therefore nine ministers out of the ten resigned. Mr. Daly, whose only politics were always the sweets of office, did not resign. The Assembly passed a resolution approving of the action of the ministers. The Opposition, however, were willing to sacrifice the principles of responsible government, but were too weak to form a new cabinet. Mr. Daly was His Excellency's only min-

ister who, with His Excellency's secretary, Captain Higginson, kept matters going for a few days. Finally, Mr. Draper, who held a seat in the Legislative Council, took charge of the attorney-general's department for both west and east. His Excellency offered the attorney-generalship to six different persons, but all declined. The Opposition, led by Sir Allan McNab sympathized thoroughly with His Excellency in his unconstitutional course.

A tremendous uproar and excitement now ensued, the inhabitants of the province being ranged against each other in bitter and violent hostility. Some partisans were condemning His Excellency, while others were applauding him just as strongly. Addresses were presented to him, some of which ignorantly advised the dismissal of Lafontaine and Baldwin, who, as we have seen, had voluntarily resigned.

Months passed by, still His Excellency, notwithstanding great efforts, was unable to form a ministry. Finally, he succeeded in getting Mr. D. B. Viger to join the cabinet, greatly to the surprise and disgust of Mr. Lafontaine. This was followed by the entrance into the cabinet of Mr. D. B. Papineau, a brother of Mr. L. J. Papineau, but these men could not draw any following. As regards Mr. Viger, it was said that he was jealous of the overshadowing fame of his former law student, Mr. Lafontaine. His Excellency was successful in his seventh attempt to get an attorney for the east in the person of Mr. James Smith, of Montreal, a gentleman who had never been in parliament.

Mr. William Morris, of Perth, a most respectable gentleman, also consented to accept a portfolio. His

Excellency, now at the end of nine months, was able to fill six-tenths of the cabinet offices, but it was useless for him to meet parliament with the present representation. He, therefore, with the assistance of the Opposition, prepared for a general election, and when all the plans were advantageously laid, a dissolution took place and writs were issued for a general election, resulting in one of the fiercest and most violent contests upon record. Bloodshed and rioting was a common occurrence, and the most unblushing bribery was practised by His Excellency's supporters. Some moderate Reformers, fearing a state of anarchy and not clearly understanding the principles at stake, voted in the wrong. The Rev. Egerton Ryerson, of whom better things might have been expected, came out as a strong supporter and apologist upon the wrong side of the question, and was not afterwards forgotten by His Excellency. The polling in Montreal and elsewhere was arranged to the disadvantage of the Reformers. Under all the circumstances it is not surprising that Sir Charles Metcalfe and his friends carried the country by a very small majority. Mr. Hincks was defeated by Conservatives in Oxford. Messrs. Viger and Cuvillier, who sympathized with His Excellency, were defeated in Lower Canada.

Parliament assembled at Montreal in November, and His Excellency's party were enabled to elect Mr. Allan McNab as Speaker by a majority of three votes.

Among the new members elected was John A Macdonald, destined to become altogether the most prominent figure yet in Canadian politics. He was not, however, responsible for any previous party misdeeds. Ogle R. Gowan, the hot-headed grand master of the

Orange Order, was also elected. He had done much to arouse recent race and religious antipathies. Mr. John Neilson, of Quebec, and Mr. James Morris, of Brockville, were called to the Legislative Council; both were excellent appointments.

The speech from the throne was lengthy, and contained some damaging admissions in the matter of the delay in assembling parliament, and of the formation of a ministry. Upon a division it was found that the government could only count on a majority of six in a full house, and what was less reassuring for His Excellency was in the fact that there was no unanimity of sentiment or principles in his cabinet. Ministers frequently disagreed among themselves, which was a source of grave anxiety to him, there being no regular leader in the Assembly until Mr. Draper found a seat in London, after which the Conservative party were for a time successfully led by that able and upright gentleman.

The session lasted four months, during which much useful legislation took place, including the removal of all restrictions upon the official use of the French language.

A most calamitous fire occurred in the City of Quebec, rendering twenty-four thousand people homeless. Contributions for the relief of the sufferers were sent forward from various parts, but in nothing like the generous volume of aid such as is usually sent forward to localities in similar cases at the present time.

Mr. William Cayley became inspector-general during the year. The proposed principle of a double parliamentary majority system, found a considerable number of strong advocates, who desired to lay down

the condition that any measure affecting a particular province must be supported by a majority of members from that province. The principle, however, was not deemed to be applicable in the majority of cases.

His Excellency, who had been suffering from a cancerous sore upon his face, now getting worse, requested his recall, which was acceded to in a courteous message of approval of his services in Canada. The colonial secretary could not do less than approve of His Excellency's conduct, seeing that he was himself probably the chief cause, through bad instructions, of the serious frictions which occurred in the governmental machine, resulting, as we have seen, in the most violent discussions throughout the province, which took a long time to heal.

The Reform press, regardless of the amenities due to his position, cruelly assailed His Excellency most virulently upon the eve of his departure, despite his known illness, which resulted in death in less than a year from his resignation, such was the bitter animosity of the period.

On the other hand His Excellency's administration has found warm defenders among several writers, who were probably actuated by a high appreciation of Metcalfe's fine personal attributes.

Sir Charles Metcalfe was the last governor to attempt a personal government in Canada. His conduct in ignoring the responsible system of government after its authorization by the Imperial government and adoption by his predecessor, Sir Charles Bagot, cannot be defended, as his retrograde policy did an infinite amount of harm; but it may be to some extent extenuated, owing to the sinister conduct of the col-

onial secretary in the matter of the ill-advised instructions given His Excellency, neither of whom seemed to realize that Canada, even at that early day, possessed most able and practical men to govern the country in an enlightened manner.

Government of the Earl of Cathcart.

The Earl of Cathcart, a prominent and successful military man, now succeeded to the governor-generalship, and met parliament in March. His Excellency at once manifested a lack of statesmanship in allowing his ministers to use him for partisan purposes in the wording of the speech from the throne, which contained complimentary references to the administration of his predecessor. Such an uncalled-for proceeding under the circumstances could not fail to arouse legitimate criticism in the ranks of the Opposition in both branches of the legislature.

A militia bill was passed during the session. The civil list, being now a permanent list, was then, with the approbation of the home government, placed under the control of the Assembly, thus confirming the sound contention of Mr. Hincks in the first union parliament.

The anti-Corn Law movement in the Mother Country at this time caused grave apprehension in Canada, as under the old system the colonies enjoyed some preferential advantages in the markets of the Mother Country, which would now be swept away under free trade. This disadvantageous change to Canada might have been mitigated to some extent by the repeal of the navigation laws which closed the St.

Lawrence River to the ships of foreign countries, but this boon was not yet to be granted to Canada. Thus at a single blow very great depression of trade was, temporarily at least, inflicted upon the people of Canada by Imperial legislation, which was most sensibly felt in the farm produce markets of the province for a considerable time.

In the midst of this wide-spread commercial depression, a revival of the burning question of the payment of losses caused to individuals incidental to the rebellion of 1837-8, was somewhat embarrassing. There was no difference of opinion as to compensation for losses sustained by loyal inhabitants, therefore very little difficulty was experienced in adjusting these losses in Upper Canada. But it was found that the difficulty of discriminating among the claimants in Lower Canada was attended with much difficulty; in fact, the feeling of many of the English-speaking people of Lower Canada was against any compensation whatever to the inhabitants of that province. The Draper administration, however, had appointed six commissioners the year previously to inquire into the validity of the claims preferred by loyal subjects. The claims of those who had participated in the rebellion were not to be entertained. The total claims submitted aggregated £241,965, but the commission recommended that an appropriation of £100,000 was, in their opinion, sufficient to cover the losses of loyal claimants.

Mr. Draper introduced a bill to carry out the recommendation of the commissioners, but did not for some reason press it to a conclusion, and allowed the question to stand over as a troublesome legacy for his successors.

Parliament was prorogued in June. Some uneasiness was felt during the recess over the boundary questions between Great Britain and the United States. Peace was, however, happily preserved, even although by the one-sided Oregon treaty, the Americans, as usual, shrewdly getting rather the best of the bargain.

A successor to His Excellency had now been selected in no less a personage than the eminent statesman, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, son-in-law of Lord Durham, but of different party politics from his father-in-law, who was a Liberal in the Mother Country, while Lord Elgin was a Conservative.

The Duke of Wellington, now commander-in-chief of the forces of the Empire, desired Lord Cathcart to remain as commander-in-chief of the forces in Canada, but he felt slighted by his deposition from the governor-generalship so soon, and declined to remain longer in Canada.

The home government now began to realize that more care should be exercised in the selection of the governor-general of Canada; that only experienced and constitutional governors, who understood the workings of responsible government in its entirety, should now be appointed, particularly as some grave difficulties for solution were now looming up on the political horizon of Canada.

Government of Lord Elgin.

Lord Elgin was sworn in as governor-general at Montreal in January of 1847, and was the recipient of the usual addresses of welcome, to which he replied in exceptionally able and happy terms, and at once

became popular with the public. He was quite cognizant from his father-in-law's report upon Canada, and also from various other sources, of the bitter political and racial schisms which unfortunately existed in the province; he therefore wisely resolved to meet all difficulties by pursuing a neutral and constitutional course by lending his best efforts and counsel to aid his ministers, no matter to what political party they belonged, so long as they commanded a majority in the popular branch of the legislature. His first mission was to promote the welfare of, and harmony between, all classes of Her Majesty's Canadian subjects.

The vicious party feeling manifested in the Montreal municipal election, which took place within a month after His Excellency's arrival, was not, however, very reassuring for harmony in that city.

His Excellency found rather a weak Conservative government in power upon his arrival, which was gradually growing weaker; both Attorney-General Smith and Draper retired to the bench. Mr. H. Sherwood succeeded Mr. Draper as attorney-general and premier, and John A. Macdonald was given a cabinet position—his first—as receiver-general.

Parliament met at Montreal in June, when His Excellency delivered a most acceptable speech, for which his cabinet were entitled to the credit, save for that portion of it which conveyed the intimation of the Imperial government of the surrender to Canada of the full control of the post-office department, and also to confer upon the Canadian legislature the authority to repeal the different duties in favor of the manufactures of the Mother Country. Several internal im-

provements were foreshadowed in the speech, such as the shipping, railway and other interests. In all, something over one hundred useful bills were passed during the session.

An excessive immigration of a destitute class, drawn from the famine-stricken districts of the old land, was now pouring into Canada. Ninety thousand souls arrived via the St. Lawrence River in one season of navigation, thereby causing a most serious burden to fall upon the Canadian people. This overwhelming influx of emaciated and poverty stricken people, caused a grave sensation throughout the province, and for a time lulled the political elements. Meantime the ministry were getting so weak that they did not feel like facing another session, consequently another dissolution of the House took place in December, resulting in the rout of the government party at the polls. The government, however, with great impropriety clung to office for more than two months after their decisive defeat at the polls.

The new parliament met at the end of February. The discredited government proposed Mr. Allan McNab for Speaker. Mr. Baldwin proposed in amendment A. N. Morin, who was elected by nearly a two-thirds vote.

His Excellency's speech from the throne was an acceptable one, and promised on behalf of the Imperial government that such a heavy emigration of unsuitable persons would not be again permitted to reach Canada.

The Sherwood government, despairing of carrying the address in reply to the speech from the throne, resigned. It will be seen that His Excellency had

unduly indulged the government by permitting them to remain in office for an unusually long time after their defeat at the polls; it will be observed later how much gratitude these same gentlemen and their followers manifested towards His Excellency during the succeeding years of his administration.

The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Lafontaine, was now summoned by His Excellency, and charged with the responsibility of forming a government, which he speedily accomplished with the assistance of his first lieutenant, Mr. Robert Baldwin, the leader of the Upper Canada Reform contingent. The members of the cabinet, which was said to be the ablest yet enrolled in the Province of Canada, were Lafontaine, attorney-general (East); Leslie, president of the Council; R. E. Caron, Speaker of the Legislative Council; E. P. Tache, commissioner of public works; Aylwin, solicitor-general (East); L. M. Viger, receiver-general; Baldwin, attorney-general (West); Sullivan, provincial secretary; Hincks, inspector-general; Price, commissioner of Crown lands; W. H. Blake, solicitor-general (West); Malcolm Cameron, assistant commissioner of public works, all of whom were re-elected on appealing to their constituents.

Canada now assumed a more dignified and independent position than ever before as a completely self-governing community. Ministers applied themselves assiduously to the affairs of their respective departments when not attending the sittings of the House.

The session did not last long; the chief legislation was in the regulation of immigration and the sanitary matters in connection therewith.

The politics of Europe were greatly disturbed this year, and practically all the thrones of the continent, except those of Great Britain and Belgium, were tottering; upon the thrones of the last-named sat, respectively, the good young Queen Victoria and her excellent uncle, King Leopold, both largely of the Brunswick royal line.

In Canada matters were fairly tranquil, with the exception of some agitation which Mr. L. J. Papineau, now a sort of political Ishmaelite, tried rather unsuccessfully to foment in Lower Canada. He was only countenanced by a few young men—the eldest of his would-be followers, it is said, being but twenty-two years of age.

Trade was still much depressed and the navigation laws were yet unrepealed, although the British House of Commons did its part in passing an Act for the repeal of said law; but the Lords did not concur in the same until a year later. All these unsatisfactory conditions were unfairly laid at the door of the Lafontaine-Baldwin government by the merchants and capitalists, who, it is said, at that time chiefly belonged to the Conservative party—or it would be fairer, perhaps, to say to the English-speaking party—although it must have been patent to all reasonable people that the Canadian government could not have averted the change in the fiscal policy of the Mother Country or to prevent the delay in the repeal of the navigation laws, which were the generally acknowledged cause of the depression of trade in the province.

Parliament met again in January of 1849. His Excellency delivered the speech from the throne in both the English and French languages, a proceeding

which was now authorized by the Imperial authorities, through the amending of a restrictive clause in the Union Act for that purpose, a step highly gratifying to the French-Canadians, who naturally cherished a very warm feeling for their polite mother tongue.

It was announced in the speech, that the navigation laws were being repealed by the Mother Country, and that the St. Lawrence canals were almost completed;

That Her Majesty announced her purpose to grant a general amnesty to all who had been concerned in the rebellion of 1837-8;

That King's College was to be made non-sectarian, under the title of the University of Toronto.

The reply to His Excellency's speech was carried after a long debate, and by a large majority.

The Court of Chancery Act was passed which, it is said, owed most of its provisions to Mr. Baldwin. Several railway bills were passed; then the vexed and burning question of the rebellion losses claims—a legacy from the previous government—was taken up in the shape of preliminary resolutions introduced by Mr. Lafontaine, which were adopted amid some excitement. A bill founded upon the said resolutions was then introduced, the provisions of which authorized the payment of a sum not exceeding $400,000, being the amount recommended by the commissioners who had investigated the claims, payment to be made only to the sufferers who had not participated in the said rebellion.

The Opposition, fancying that an opportunity now presented itself of making some party capital over the question, therefore lost no time in setting the pace for violent agitation against the measure, both inside

and outside of parliament, by declamation, petitions to His Excellency, and otherwise.

The bill finally passed through its several stages, and as navigation had opened early that year, His Excellency was requested to come down to parliament and give the royal sanction to a customs' bill, on the 26th April. His Excellency came down accordingly escorted by a troop of cavalry, and assented to the Rebellion Losses Bill at the same time. This constitutional function on his part was at once made the pretext for a series of the most disgraceful riots and outrages on the part of the Conservatives and their sympathizers of Montreal, thereby casting an indelible blot upon the fair fame of Canada.

His Excellency was subjected to personal violence and to the grossest insults, upon more than one occasion, by persons who professed to be gentlemen. The outrages did not cease with the riotous and brutal attacks upon His Excellency and staff. The parliament buildings were set on fire and destroyed by the same gentry, thereby causing an irreparable loss in the destruction of records, besides a direct money loss in property of over half a million dollars, to say nothing of the confusion and inconveniences engendered thereby. The private dwellings of the cabinet ministers and their supporters in Montreal were wrecked, also the *Pilot* newspaper office; the residences of Messrs. Blake, Rolph, Baldwin and Brown, of the *Globe,* in Toronto, were attacked, and Baldwin and Blake were burned in effigy.

The parliament buildings being now out of existence, the legislature met for a few days in the great hall of Bonsecours market, and from thence removed to a building on Dalhousie Square.

It was now resolved to make the cities of Toronto and Quebec, alternately, the capitals of Canada, Montreal being irrevocably punished for the mad and unpardonable outrage committed by so many of its English-speaking citizens, who appear to have lost their heads, and to have given free reins to frenzy.

The legislature passed an address of sympathy with, and confidence in, His Excellency, which was followed by similar addresses of sympathy and confidence from various parts of the province.

Meanwhile, His Excellency, as a result of these indignities and tumults, had tendered his resignation to the home government, but the Queen and her cabinet expressed their entire approval of his conduct and urgently requested him to retain his position.

Messrs. McNab and Cayley left for England upon the foolish errand of stirring up hostile feelings against the Rebellion Losses Bill, with the design of procuring its disallowance. Mr. Hincks needlessly followed these two gentlemen for the opposite purpose, seeing that there was not the slightest probability of the bill being disallowed.

The political upheavals of the times and the continued depression of trade, constrained some citizens of Montreal to prepare an annexation manifesto, declaring for political union with the United States, which was signed by three hundred and twenty-five prominent persons of both political parties, such as D. L. Macpherson, J. J. C. Abbott and L. H. Holton, etc. Mr. John A. Macdonald shrewdly declined to append his name to the manifesto, although invited to do so. Other remedies for the unsatisfactory state of the province were proposed by irresponsible parties.

The ministers themselves, however, had devised the most helpful policy in the proposed Reciprocity Treaty with the United States for the free interchange of the natural products of the two countries.

His Excellency now paid a visit to Upper Canada with the two-fold object of making himself acquainted with the country, and to meet with President Tyler, of the United States, who was visiting at Niagara Falls, to discuss together the question of reciprocity.

His Excellency, notwithstanding the recent public excitement, travelled with no other escort than his aide-de-camp. His tour was most pleasant, with the exception of one or two little episodes, which, however, did not greatly perturb him. Ogle R. Gowan saluted him with a black flag on the steamboat wharf at Brockville, and a few missiles were hurled at him in Toronto. He was kindly welcomed at Kingston by the mayor and corporation, and also throughout the Niagara district.

Some changes in the ministry took place. Mr. W. H. Blake accepted the chancellorship and was succeeded by John Sandfield Macdonald in the solicitor-generalship. Malcolm Cameron retired from the government on some personal grounds. Mr. Viger also retired and was succeeded by Mr. Tache.

The Reform party in Upper Canada was now becoming disunited. One section was led by Baldwin and Hincks, with the *Globe* as its organ; the other section was led by Rolph, Macdougall, Perry and Malcolm Cameron, with the *Examiner* as its organ. The *Globe* dubbed the last-named party "Clear Grits," a soubriquet which is yet occasionally applied by some of their opponents to the whole Liberal party as the antithesis of Toryism.

Mr. L. J. Papineau had also a small following in Lower Canada, designated the *Parti Rouge.* The *Parti Bleu,* or Conservative party, at that time was very weak, but subsequently became, for half a century, the strongest of the political parties in the province, but has of late again grown as weak as it was in its primitive days.

A Conservative league was also organized to give a systematic opposition to the government and, although then numerically weak, it soon made its power felt, owing chiefly to the political tact of some of its newer members in recruiting support from their opponents, one of whom was soon destined to be the most adroit political leader yet known to Canadian history. It is needless to say that person was Mr. J. A. Macdonald, member for Kingston.

The public securities of the province, which had been unfavorably affected by the recent serious political dissensions, began to improve, still outside capitalists were chary about investing freely in the province. An agent of the province had meanwhile been despatched to Washington to promote reciprocity negotiations in conjunction with the British minister at the American capital.

Trade began to revive in 1850 quite perceptibly, owing to the repeal of the navigation laws, to the bountiful harvest, and to the calming down of the agitation over the rebellion losses affair.

The next session of parliament was held in Toronto, to the great delight of its inhabitants, who scarcely anticipated the prospect of their important city being again chosen as one of the two capitals of the province so soon after the closing up of the old Upper

Canada parliament to enter the union, nine years previously. The legislature assembled on the 14th May in the parliament building on Front Street, formerly used by the legislature of Upper Canada, but now deserted since the recent erection, at very moderate cost, of the commodious pile of public buildings in the Queen's Park, which from an architectural standpoint are probably the best arranged, internally at least, of any public buildings upon the continent of North America, and are also probably the best value for their cost of any legislative buildings on the continent.

The weather being fine the opening ceremonies were attended with great eclat and enthusiasm. The streets were crowded with people in their holiday attire from both the city and country parts. The speech from the throne prudently avoided any reference to the exciting topics of the previous year, or of the events which had caused the unexpected meeting of parliament in Toronto. The beneficial changes induced by the repeal of the navigation laws were referred to, also the great desirability of securing reciprocity with the United States and an increased interprovincial trade with the other provinces as well.

No reference was made to the Clergy Reserves question, shortly to become a very exciting issue. The Reform press, though still supporting the government, could not disguise its disappointment and dissatisfaction over the omission of that topic from the speech from the throne.

The Opposition forces at this time were divided into several camps, with nothing in common in the way of associations or principles, but yet were allied,

although from different motives, in their united hostility to the government. The Conservative wing was led by Messrs. McNab, Macdonald and Sherwood. The half dozen " Clear Grits " by Cameron and Perry, and the few *Rouges* by L. J. Papineau, and two or three independent Conservatives by Colonel Prince.

During the debate upon the address, Colonel Prince presented a petition from certain inhabitants praying that the province might be made an independent nation by severance from the Mother Country. Mr. Baldwin opposed the reception of the petition, which he characterized as treasonable, and only the outcome of the temporary irritation, caused chiefly by the late commercial depression, and political commotion, which was rapidly passing away. A vote was taken upon the reception of the petition, which only found seven supporters, which included Cameron, Papineau and Prince.

Mr. Papineau aired his old contention for an elective Legislative Council in such an acrimonious speech as to alienate nearly all his small following in the House.

The majority of Upper Canada Reformers, especially outside of parliament, now led by George Brown, would not let the Clergy Reserves question rest, and were determined, regardless of consequences, to force the hands of the government. Mr. Baldwin, the leader of the party in the House, did not wish at present to deal further with the question, which had undergone some changes ten years previously, and moreover he contended truly that the Canadian parliament had not then power to completely abolish the system, which had been established by the Imperial

government. Mr. Baldwin's conservative attitude on that question, and the impatience of the extreme Reformers most unfortunately cost him his seat in North York at the next general election, and practically caused his retirement from active public life, which was a great loss to the country, as we have too few public men who combine ability with moderation and integrity. Such a man was Robert Baldwin.

Mr. Hincks was not very pronounced in his views upon the Clergy Reserves question, and was disposed to evade it, which, however, was not possible in the state of the public mind, then so easily incited by the Reform press.

The question of the abolition of the seigniorial tenures, already referred to in the narrative of the administration of Lower Canada, now came prominently to the front as an issue, and engaged the serious attention of parliament for some years.

The House was prorogued in August, when His Excellency made a western tour, including the mining districts of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, which greatly interested him.

The first provincial exhibition of the products of agriculture, manufacture and arts, was held in Montreal the same fall, and proved to be a great success, and was followed by preparations for a Canadian exhibit at the World's Fair, which was held in the London Crystal Palace in 1851, all of which resulted not only in success, but also in the promotion of a more intimate feeling between Canada and the Mother Country, and with other nations.

Meantime the George Brown wing of the Reform party were being designated "Clear Grits," a name

which Mr. Brown himself, as we have already seen, bestowed upon a totally different wing of the party, but which was now destined to cling to his own followers. This strong wing of the Reform party constantly clamored for a more radical policy on the part of the administration, which finally culminated in open opposition to the government, greatly to the delight of the Conservative Opposition, and to the embarrassment of the government. A bye-election had taken place in Haldimand in April, in which Mr. George Brown was supposed to be the government candidate. It was a three-cornered fight, in which W. L. Mackenzie was one of the three candidates, and he, with much tact, imputed to Mr. Brown all the sins of the government; and to the other candidate, all the sins of the Opposition. The government did not give Mr. Brown the cordial support which he expected from them, his paper having given some grievous offence to the Roman Catholic religion, and also to French-Canadians. It was, therefore, not easy for the government to give him an unqualified support. Mr. Brown was consequently defeated in Haldimand and Mr. Mackenzie was elected. These circumstances, no doubt, tended to further incite Mr. Brown against the government.

The railway mania now ran high and some private companies were incorporated, and the government took power to secure the construction of a trunk line of railway throughout the length of the two united provinces, an enterprise shortly to become famous as the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada.

The charge for postage, which had been excessive, was reduced this year to the uniform rate of five cents

for a letter not weighing more than half an ounce, and postage stamps were now adopted for the first time in Canada, all of which was a great boon to the public.

The country was now becoming generally prosperous. His Excellency accepted an invitation to a great railway celebration in the United States and delivered, by common consent, the speech of the occasion.

The " Clear Grit " element in the Reform party continued to grow stronger, and was to some extent countenanced by Mr. Brown's paper, the *Globe,* all of which naturally weakened Mr. Baldwin's position.

The legislature met in May, and important parliamentary matters were apparently progressing smoothly until the eccentric Mr. Mackenzie made a savage onslaught upon the Court of Chancery, a favorite tribunal with Mr. Baldwin, and a court chiefly of his own creation.

A vote was taken upon Mr. Mackenzie's proposal to abolish the said court, and although the motion did not prevail, however, through a lack of discipline, owing to the absence of caucuses and party whips, such as are in vogue to-day, Mr. Mackenzie carried with him a majority of Upper Canada Reformers. Mr. Baldwin being a most sensitive man took this unfortunate incident so much to heart that he resigned his seat in the government, to the great regret of many Reformers, who would have voted differently had they known the serious effect it was calculated to have upon Mr. Baldwin. The Upper Canada colleagues of Mr. Baldwin also felt the temporary defection of their supporters most keenly, and furthermore extremely regretted Mr. Baldwin's retirement.

The serious rift in the ranks of the Reform party caused a reconstruction of the cabinet. Mr. Hincks became premier, and Messrs. M. Cameron and Rolph joined his ministry. The cabinet was now comprised of Messrs. Hincks, Richards, M. Cameron, J. Young, R. E. Caron, Tache and J. Ross.

The Legislative Assembly was dissolved, and a general election followed, in which the government was sustained by a fair majority. Mr. George Brown, who now openly assailed Mr. Hincks upon public grounds, was elected for Kent. Mr. Baldwin was defeated by Mr. Hartman in North York upon the Clergy Reserves cry, he having refused to give any pledges upon the question, and never offered again for the Legislative Assembly.

Parliament met in Quebec in August, 1852, and chose Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald as Speaker. In the speech from the throne His Excellency referred to the expediency of dealing with the seigniorial tenure question; to the need of a line of ocean steamships between Canada and the Mother Country; to the advisability of a change in the currency by adopting the decimal, or dollar and cents system, in lieu of the existing system of pounds, shillings and pence—certainly a good move—and of an increased parliamentary representation.

The bold financier, Premier Hincks, had during the recess made a journey to the Mother Country in the interests of the proposed Grand Trunk Railway. He now came down to the House with his railway schedule, which involved the alarming addition, in those days, of sixteen million dollars to the public debt, and the end was not yet. This famous railway

corporation formed for years a popular theme of denunciation, both upon the platform and in the press. Several large private fortunes were made out of its construction, chiefly by English contractors, owing to the excessively high prices paid for the work. It should be explained, however, that the appliances for railway construction then were not so serviceable as those of the present time. On the other hand, the score of thousands of original private shareholders have not yet received one farthing of returns for their investments, and are never likely to receive anything. They have merely the poor satisfaction of voting at the meeting of shareholders. The Grand Trunk Railway has, however, been of incalculable service to Canada, even although it was but indifferently managed at times in the somewhat distant past. It is, latterly, happily and universally recognized to be a very high-class and most efficient highway, an acknowledged credit to Canada, and bids fair to become one of the greatest railway corporations in the world.

The premier at nearly the same time embarked in another very extravagant scheme, known as the Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund Act, for the encouragement of municipalities to borrow funds upon government guarantee for public improvements, which had the effect of inducing several municipalities to borrow recklessly beyond the power of even paying the interest upon the sums borrowed. Before a check was placed upon this prodigal system of borrowing, the province was mulcted into the payment for delinquent borrowers to the extent of nine and a half million dollars, casting at the same time a most unfair burden upon the municipalities which had not bor-

rowed. This unsatisfactory state of matters was not finally and equitably adjusted until Oliver Mowat became premier of the province of Ontario, who with his clear and logical mind, assisted by his colleagues, solved the problem in a manner just and satisfactory to all interests. It must be said, however, in extenuation of the premier's seeming prodigality, that the revenue exceeded the expenditure at this time, and the public debt was not over a tenth part of what it is to-day. Canadian securities at that time, bearing six per cent. interest, were at a premium of sixteen per cent. The ordinary rate of interest in those days of about eight per cent. would seem most exorbitant now.

The session was fruitful of legislation, nearly two hundred bills were assented to by His Excellency, of these the large number of twenty-eight Acts were upon railway subjects alone.

An Act provided for an increase of parliamentary representation of twenty-three additional members from each province, making a future representation in the House of one hundred and thirty instead of eighty-four members.

The Imperial government now authorized the Canadian parliament to deal with the Clergy Reserves question upon the very proper conditions that the vested rights of the existing individual beneficiaries should not be interfered with during their lives. There was, therefore, no obstacle in the way of disposing forever of the vexed question.

Some unfortunate excitement was aroused over the advent of Father Gavazzi, who arrived in the province upon a lecturing tour against the Roman Catholic Church, and which culminated in very serious rioting

in Quebec and Montreal upon the part of some of the narrow-minded portion of the population. The rioters intended some bodily harm to the supposed leader of the ultra-Protestant party. Mr. Brown, however, eluded his would-be assailants. These incidents tended to popularize him with the Protestant party, but also injured him correspondingly in the estimation of many Roman Catholics. His influence, however, in the Reform ranks was on the whole in the ascendant. He had now become a most formidable opponent of the Hincks' ministry, chiefly over their remissness in failing to deal with the Clergy Reserves question.

Mr. Brown attacked Mr. Hincks personally upon a charge of collusion with the mayor of Toronto in the matter of some debentures of that city, which were obtained indirectly by Mr. Hincks and his friends at a price below par, and afterwards were made worth par value by some alleged legislative enactment. Mr. Hincks was also charged with private speculation in government lands at Point Levis. A committee was appointed to investigate the matter, and reported rather adversely as regards the conduct of Mr. Hincks in the transaction, who was now attacked simultaneously by both Mr. Brown and Mr. John A. Macdonald, the latter declaring that the premier was "steeped to the lips in corruption." Mr. Macdonald's subsequent friendly intercourse towards Mr. Hincks would indicate that the imputation had been hastily made, in the heat of a debate.

Meantime His Excellency and Premier Hincks had proceeded to Britain to promote the proposed Reciprocity Treaty, and also to confer about some other

matters. These gentlemen were well received by the Imperial government and every request granted. His Excellency was appointed as special envoy to Washington to complete the treaty, which he successfully accomplished. The terms were for ten years, which might then be abrogated upon two years' notice being given by either party. The treaty was ratified by the several legislatures of the British North American provinces, and proved to be a very great boon at any rate to the Province of Canada, until its abrogation on the part of the United States twelve years later.

The assembling of parliament was delayed until June, 1854, owing to the destruction by fire in the previous February of the moderately fine public buildings at Quebec, thereby causing a second serious financial loss and great inconvenience of the same kind within a period of five years.

The speech from the throne touched upon several gratifying points, including the success of the British and French allies over the Russian forces in the Crimea. The speech, however, omitted all reference to the live issues over the Clergy Reserves and Seigniorial Tenures question, which were now urgently pressing for settlement, thus exposing the government to a combined attack from two sections of the Opposition.

Mr. Cauchon moved an amendment to the address on the seigniorial question, and Mr. Sicotte tacked on another amendment relative to the Clergy Reserves, which resulted in a defeat of the government by thirteen votes. The cabinet had been previously weakened somewhat by the retirement of Mr. Richards to the bench.

The government advised immediate prorogation and a dissolution of the House, which was promptly followed by a general election. The government were opposed by the whole of the Conservative, and a considerable portion of the Reform press as well. Mr. Brown's paper, the *Globe,* supported Mr. John A. Macdonald in Kingston, and Allan McNab in Hamilton, against the government candidates. Mr. Brown himself opposed and defeated a minister, Mr. M. Cameron in Lambton.

The next parliament met in September, and the government proposed Mr. G. E. Cartier—afterwards Sir G. Cartier—for the Speakership. The Opposition proposed Mr. Sicotte in amendment, who was elected by a majority of three votes.

His Excellency delivered the speech from the throne on the following day, in which he announced that the Imperial government had consented to the proposal of rendering the Legislative Council an elective instead of a nominated body, and that the Seigniorial Tenures and Clergy Reserves questions would be now dealt with. These concessions came too late, however, to appease the Reformers of Upper Canada, who were determined to oust the government, and in their eagerness to that end, never suspecting the *coup* shortly to be perpetrated, Mr. Rolph now left the cabinet and went into Opposition.

The government party was still stronger than either one of the other two parties, single-handed, but the latter parties by uniting their forces, which they were willing to do for a special purpose, could easily defeat the government. Mr. Hincks now, in a spirit of revenge upon the Reformers, made overtures to the

Conservatives for a coalition with some of his colleagues, which the last-named party inconsistently accepted. Mr. Tache became premier; Mr. McNab, president of the council; Robert Spence, postmaster-general; John A. Macdonald, attorney-general (West); Cayley, inspector-general; Chauveau, provincial secretary; Morin, commissioner of Crown lands, and Chabot, commissioner of public works.

Although some further defection of the Hincks' Reformers took place, still the new coalition government had a sufficient working majority.

The Brown Reformers were now completely left out in the cold for an indefinite period through the mutual and permanent estrangement of the two wings of the Reform party, comprised of the Baldwin and Hincks', and the Brownite Reformers, the latter who now with the assistance of the *Rouges* from Lower Canada constituted an efficient opposition led by Mr. Brown, for the purpose of keeping a check upon the conduct and legislation of the government.

The new government now proceeded to give effect to the policy which the Reform party had nearly achieved at the polls after a long and earnest struggle. The coalition government furthermore adopted a new party name, by appropriating the word Liberal as a prefix to the old party title of Conservative, thus designating themselves by the pleasant name of Liberal-Conservatives, a party, which apart from a few reverses incidental to all parties, has had a large and honorable share in moulding the destinies of Canada.

The secularization of the Clergy Reserves was carried out without difficulty, save some mild protesting on the part of some members of the churches of England and Scotland.

The Seigniorial Tenures question was settled at a cost of one million dollars, which was a welcome relief to all parties.

A line of ocean steamships was incorporated during the session, which was the precursor of the present splendid Allan line of steamers.

The Reciprocity Treaty in natural products, was now put in force and the customs duties upon manufactures placed at twelve and a half per cent.

Mr. Hincks now retired from Canadian public life and was appointed by the Imperial government successively to the governorship of some of the West India Islands, and to British Guinea. He returned to Canada after fifteen years' absence and entered the coalition government of the Dominion as finance minister in Sir John A. Macdonald's government in 1869. We shall meet him again.

Parliament was prorogued in December. Lord Elgin did not remain in Canada much longer, his regime had been a stormy one, but not of his own making. He held the reins in an impartial, cautious, dignified, and constitutional manner, giving equal fair play and assistance to his advisers of whichever party commanded a majority in parliament. It can be truly said that Lord Elgin was not only one of the most able of our governors, but was the strictest constitutional ruler who had up to that time represented the sovereignty in this country. On returning to the Mother Country he was not long idle, having performed a successful mission to enlighten the Japanese and Chinese (his success with the former people in that direction has been marvellously evolved), after which he assumed the governor-generalship of India until

his lamented death, which was attributed to the unhealthy climate for Europeans in that country. His Lordship was upon an extended tour of the country, accompanied by Lady Elgin, when overtaken by the fatal illness. He was buried at his own request under the shadow of the Himalaya Mountains. His death was greatly regretted throughout the world.

Government of Sir Edmund Walker Head.

Sir Edmund Walker Head, whom we met before as lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, now succeeded Lord Elgin as governor-general, and soon discovered that the stormy passions in the breasts of Canadian politicians were far from being allayed.

Some cabinet changes were made during the recess. Mr. Morin was succeeded by Mr. Cameron as commissioner of Crown lands. Mr. Cartier succeeded Mr. Chaveau as provincial secretary, and Mr. Lemieux succeeded Mr. Chabot in the public works department.

Parliament met in February of 1855, with the coalition government still firmly entrenched in power. A large amount of useful legislation was enacted, such as an amendment to the militia laws, to enable the formation of volunteer companies and battalions. One hundred thousand dollars was commendably voted for the widows and orphans' fund in connection with the heavy loss of life in the Crimean war. This grant was happily followed up generally by smaller gifts upon the part of municipal corporations. The customs dues were reduced to ten per cent., which was then considered to be ample for the requirements of the country. The public debt rose to forty millions

of dollars, largely owing to the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway, which was this year completed as far west as Brockville, with the exception of the Victoria Bridge which was still under construction.

The Imperial government were again congratulated upon the success of the allied armies in the Crimea.

His Excellency prorogued parliament in May, and was in a position to rejoice over the final settlement of at least the most difficult of the several vexed questions which had so long beset the electorate of the province. In conclusion, he recommended that still greater attention be given to the militia organization.

Parliament met again in Toronto in February of 1856. The speech from the throne felicitated the country upon the tranquility and prosperity which now reigned supreme throughout the province, and referred to some administrative transactions which would materially aid the future public progress of the community. This roseate deliverance, however, did not prevent a bitter debate upon the address. Ministers were violently assailed, not only by Mr. George Brown and his followers, but also by some Conservatives. Religious prejudices were unfortunately rekindled by an embarrassing motion made by Mr. J. Hillyard Cameron for a copy of the charge delivered by Judge Duval in the murder trial at Quebec over the alleged killing of Robert Corrigan, a Protestant, by some Roman Catholics at Sylvestre near Quebec. The acquittal of the accused raised a tremendous outcry in Upper Canada. The government endeavored to evade the motion by some constitutional parryings; however, a vote was taken and the government was left in a minority of four votes. The government,

however, properly declined to regard the vote as a declaration of want of confidence. The temporary outcome of this incident was an apparent disposition on the part of the Orange element to temporarily join hands with the " Clear Grits." The feeble alliance was, however, of short duration. The master mind in the cabinet was Mr. John A. Macdonald, who by his consummate tact and magnetic personality, in due course of time reblended the bulk of the Orange and Green into the same political camp. On the other hand, Mr. Brown's paper ill-advisedly continued for a time to ride the high Protestant horse, which naturally estranged from him and his party many valuable friends of the Roman Catholic faith, who only in part became again reconciled to Mr. Brown after several years.

Meanwhile a successful political intrigue was now being launched against Premier McNab by some of his own supporters to have him superseded in the leadership of the House by Mr. John A. Macdonald, who was now recognized by both the Hincksites and the younger element of the Conservatives as the coming man, Mr. McNab being now looked upon as a fossil.

The premier accordingly resigned the leadership of the government, but not very cheerfully it is said, and upon the understanding that his successor was to be Colonel E. P. Tache of the Upper House as premier, and Mr. John A. Macdonald, leader of the Assembly, and in reality the virtual leader of the government, and eventually the great leader of the great Conservative party of Canada for more than a third of a century, during which he successfully piloted the party

safely through many tempestuous seas, and past many dangerous shoals. Political shipwrecks under John A. Macdonald's leadership were of rare occurrence indeed.

Some very useful legislation was placed upon the statute book during the session by Mr. John A. Macdonald, attorney-general (West), such as the Common Law Procedure Act and valuable amendments to the criminal laws.

The amenities of parliament were rudely violated during the session over a bitter quarrel upon the floor of the House between the two leaders in the Assembly, George Brown and John A. Macdonald. Mr. Brown having criticised the government severely, Mr. Macdonald retorted that Mr. Brown had changed his coat; that he was now opposing men whom he had supported at the last general election. Thereupon Mr. Brown personally attacked Mr. Macdonald, the attorney-general, and Mr. Spence, postmaster-general. Mr. Macdonald, losing his temper, startled the members with an unfounded accusation against Mr. Brown of having, while commissioner investigating charges against the management of the penitentiary in 1848, falsified testimony and suborned witnesses, and in obtaining pardons for murderers to induce them to give false evidence.

Mr. Brown at once indignantly repudiated the charges, and said he would hold Mr. Macdonald strictly accountable for them, and asked for a committee of members comprising a majority of Mr. Macdonald's own party to investigate the matter. A committee was appointed, which sat during the session, and reported that none of the charges made against

Mr. Brown were true, and that Mr. Macdonald should in all propriety apologize to Mr. Brown and the House, but which it appears he did not, unfortunately, do—not apparently having at the time an appetite for so much political crow diet, as a frank avowal would have involved in those days of fierce party squabbles. The Legislative Council was made elective this year.

Parliament assembled at Toronto again in February in 1857. Its proceedings were characterized by much party bitterness. Considerable legislation, however, took place, the most remarkable of which was an ill-digested and iniquitous Election and Franchise Act, which opened the door to the perpetuation of the grossest irregularities and frauds on record at the ensuing general election, which was held a few months later. The prorogation took place in June.

Meanwhile a wave of commercial depression was passing over the civilized world, from which the province did not escape, causing a deficit in the ordinary revenue of the country, which the Opposition, as usual, unfairly attributed entirely to prodigal and corrupt expenditure.

Mr. Tache now resigned his nominal premiership, and Mr. Macdonald formally assumed the same, and a dissolution of parliament ensued. The country was plunged into the throes of a bitter and disreputable contest. The new franchise qualification was most complicated and loosely drawn up, many unscrupulous officials were appointed to conduct the elections, which resulted in fraud and intimidation. Honestly disposed deputy-returning officers and poll-clerks were, in some instances, bulldozed and coerced at the muzzle of pistols, personations were carried on upon

an extensive scale, and no regard was paid to voters' lists, if any existed. Many election officials who did not manage to escape to the United States were punished by fines and imprisonment, but members wrongfully elected, in the then non-existence of election courts, held the seats for nearly the full term before the rightful members could obtain justice. Mr. G. B. Lyon Fellows polled more than two hundred votes in the Township of Cambridge, County of Russell, which then contained but forty voters in the whole township, and then with this fraudulent vote counted in was declared elected by a majority of but ten votes.

The Hincks party in Upper Canada were by this time practically extinct, and the *Rouges* of Lower Canada were signally defeated at the polls. Mr. Brown carried Upper Canada for the Reformers; but Mr. Macdonald's gains in Lower Canada having greatly overbalanced the Reform gains in Upper Canada, the government were, therefore, assured of a good working majority. Of the newly elected members, two were literary men, Thomas D'Arcy McGee and John Sheridan Hagan, both of whom met with violent deaths, the latter being murdered in Toronto by desperadoes during his first parliament, and the former assassinated in Ottawa during the first parliament of the Dominion, being the outcome of a nefarious Fenian plot.

Mr. Brown having been elected for both Toronto and North Oxford, decided to sit for the former, Mr. William Macdougall succeeding him as member for North Oxford.

Parliament assembled at Toronto in February of 1858, and elected Mr. Henry Smith, member for

Frontenac, Speaker. The speech from the throne touched upon a variety of important topics, the chief of which expressed the desirability of acquiring the Hudson's Bay territory, and a determination to grant no further pecuniary aid to the Grand Trunk Railway. The debate upon the address was both protracted and acrimonious. Mr. Brown launched forth the shibboleth demanding the principle of representation by population, and was supported by practically a solid phalanx of Upper Canada Reformers and also by some Conservatives from the same province. On the other hand, nearly every member from Lower Canada, including one Reformer from Upper Canada, Mr. J. Sandfield Macdonald, opposed the principle, not from any real sense of justice, but from feelings of local jealousy between the two sections of the province, Upper Canada having increased in population so much more rapidly than Lower Canada since the union that the adoption of the sound principle of representation according to population would at that time have given Upper Canada at least a dozen seats in excess of the Lower Canada representation. When the principle of representation was finally adopted in 1867, it gave Upper Canada seventeen seats in excess of Lower Canada.

Meantime the representation question formed a popular rallying cry for the Reformers in Upper Canada for many years, while in Lower Canada it acted as a bugbear in the opposite direction.

It should now be stated that since the burning of the parliament buildings at Montreal by a mob in 1849, the Canadian parliament had no permanent home, the perambulating system of making Toronto

and Quebec the alternate seats of government, owing to expense and inconvenience, had become intolerable and the legislature at a previous session, to avoid a sectional squabble, resolved to request Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria to select a permanent capital for Canada. The principal cities of the province duly submitted their respective claims and merits as candidates for the coveted position of being the capital. Her Majesty, after mature consideration, and chiefly for military reasons, selected Ottawa, where the government already possessed a most eligible site, as the future capital of Canada. The selection was not then, however, generally popular with either political party, Ottawa of that day being a comparatively unimportant place as compared with its present important status and prestige. The Opposition, taking advantage of this feeling, chose rather unpatriotically and ungraciously to make the seat of government a test question, and moved a resolution expressing regret that Her Majesty had been advised to select Ottawa as the capital of the country, which was carried by a majority of fourteen.

The government, anticipating the popularity of ranging themselves upon Her Gracious Majesty's side, shrewdly made the cause their own by at once resigning, even although they commanded a fair majority of the House on other questions.

His Excellency Governor-General Sir Edmund Head promptly invited the leader of the Opposition to form a cabinet. This Mr. Brown was apparently a little too eager to do upon such an issue. He succeeded, however, in enlisting as colleagues a full quota of able and trustworthy men in the persons of Hon.

James Morris, Mr. Foley, Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, Mr. Mowat, Dr. Connor, D.C.L.; Hon. L. T. Drummond, Mr. Thibedeau, Mr. Lemieux, Mr. A. A. Dorion, Mr. Holton and Mr. Laberge. Mr. Brown's seeming fair progress was, however, soon interrupted and dissipated by a *coup,* which has been freely criticised by many Canadian commentators according to their political bias. The facts so far as they can be gathered are as follows:

His Excellency called upon Mr. Brown to form a government, though he must have been aware that Mr. Brown did not command a majority in the House. Mr. Brown at once complied. It appears neither gentlemen adverted to the subject of a dissolution of parliament, Mr. Brown naturally assuming that a dissolution would be granted, proceeded to select his colleagues, all of whom doubtlessly expected a prorogation to be followed by a dissolution of the House. Mr. Brown intimated to His Excellency on Saturday night that he would be ready to submit the names of his cabinet to His Excellency on Monday morning at 10.30, but to his consternation His Excellency sent him a note of warning on Sunday to say that he would not promise either immediate prorogation or dissolution, the very course desired by Mr. Brown. The latter replied that as the cabinet were not yet sworn in, they could not tender His Excellency advice, but that they would be sworn in on Monday at noon. Accordingly after that duty had been performed, the new cabinet advised prorogation and dissolution upon the ground that several members of the present House had been improperly elected, which was doubtless true as regards some members, and that the late gov-

ernment did not possess the confidence of the country—this last was, of course, but a party surmise.

His Excellency rejoined that a general election had only lately been held, and the holding of another election would be under the same defective franchise law; that the country could not afford the expense of another election; besides it would take place at an inconvenient time for the electors, assuming, without information on the point, that the election would be held during the harvesting period; he also stated that some legislation would require to take place before giving his consent to prorogation; he therefore declined to receive the advice of his own newly sworn advisers.

The Conservatives, in both Houses, the same day passed a vote of want of confidence in the new ministers. The latter by taking office were now without seats in the House until re-elected by their constituents. There was nothing now left for Mr. Brown and his colleagues to do but resign, which they did forthwith, and now found themselves for the time being in the helpless plight of being not only out of the government, but also out of the House until their re-election at the polls, which was bitterly, but for the most part, unsuccessfully opposed by the leading Conservatives in Upper Canada. Mr. Dorion, an able, upright and most estimable gentleman, was, however, unfortunately defeated in Lower Canada at the bye-election caused by the late *coup*.

Now followed the sequel to the scheme which the Reformers designated as the "double shuffle," and which raised a tremendous outcry throughout Upper Canada in particular. Upon the resignation of Mr.

Brown's government His Excellency called upon Mr. A. T. Galt to form a government, which the latter declined to undertake. Mr. G. E. Cartier—at one time a devoted follower and fellow-exile of Papineau, but subsequently a most loyal subject—was now called upon to form a cabinet, in which he succeeded. Mr. Cartier was a strong man with a very strong French following. He was in reality the chief political power in Canada for many years during which he could, if so disposed, have unmade John A. Macdonald at any time. His stereotyped reply to the arguments of the Opposition was the familiar shout "Call in de members," etc. The same gentlemen who formed the late government of John A. Macdonald now comprised the cabinet of Mr. Cartier, the only change was a shuffle and reshuffle of portfolios. The public expected that nearly ten new bye-elections would result from the formation of the Cartier government, but it was not to be so; the wily politicians had all along cards up their sleeves by which to obviate the necessity of going back to their constituents, as by the then Independence of Parliament Act, a cabinet minister could resign his portfolio and accept another cabinet position within one month without vacating his seat in parliament; thus by exchanging portfolios the deed was accomplished. The only difference to the party was that Mr. Cartier had the honor of becoming premier instead of Mr. Macdonald, who was doubtless happy otherwise, in having outwitted Mr. Brown. The Reformers were frantic with indignation over all these proceedings, and submitted the case of seeming sharp if not unconstitutional practice, to the courts.

His Excellency was execrated by at least the more stalwart Reformers. His conduct was earnestly defended by some apologists, but his actions were generally regarded with disfavor, consequently he never regained the good-will of a majority of the Canadian people; he had likewise at one time offended the French-Canadian nationality during an incautious speech delivered by him in Toronto, in which, it is said, he referred to the French-Canadians as the inferior race.

Despite all the commotion some useful legislation was passed during the session. The very defective franchise and election law was amended, to prevent any possible repetition of the frauds and irregularities of the late election. The customs duties were raised from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. to overtake, if possible, the chronic deficit. The admirable municipal laws which had been placed upon the statute book by Mr. Baldwin were slightly amended. The death of the lamented author of this law occurring during the session was somewhat of a coincidence, and although Mr. Baldwin was not then in parliament, very eulogistic references to his memory were made by both Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald and Mr. John A. Macdonald.

Parliament reassembled for its second session at the end of January, 1859. The speech from the throne foreshadowed some important and interesting proposals, such as overtures for the union of the British North American provinces, and an intimation that the seigniorial tenure commission had closed its labors; that the statutes had been consolidated, and a resolution was adopted inviting Her Gracious

Majesty or some member of the royal family to visit Canada for the purpose of opening the gigantic Victoria bridge which spans the mighty St. Lawrence River at Montreal.

A vote of $800,000 was taken for the construction of the new parliament buildings at Ottawa. The Customs Act was again amended, and the rate of duties increased from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent., which had the effect of at least temporarily restoring the equilibrium between receipts and expenditures.

The public debt at this time amounted to nearly fifty-five million dollars, which was then considered a very formidable amount, and furnished the Opposition with a cry against the Government of extravagance and prodigality.

Some friction was engendered between the two branches of the legislature over the supply bill, but the difficulty was overcome during the session.

The fact of Mr. Brown's name having been omitted from its usual place in the membership of the Public Accounts Committee caused a ripple in the proceedings of the House, the Opposition alleging that his name was designedly omitted to avoid Mr. Brown's vigiliant criticism of expenditure. This was the last session of the parliament of the old Province of Canada ever held in Toronto.

The Upper Canada Reformers, under the leadership of Mr. Brown, held a very numerously attended convention at Toronto in November of this year, and adopted a political platform, the salient features of which were the federation of the provinces upon the principle of representation by population, and local legislatures for each province, etc. These proposals

were eventually realized through the advent of confederation.

Ground was broken at Ottawa for the new parliament buildings on the 22nd of December, 1860.

The seat of government had now reverted to Quebec, where parliament was opened in February of 1860. After the routine proceedings of receiving and replying to the speech from the throne, His Excellency informed parliament that it would not be convenient for Her Gracious Majesty to visit Canada personally to open the Victoria bridge, but her son, His Royal Highness Albert Edward the Prince of Wales would come the same year. This announcement, as can be well imagined, sent a thrill of joy throughout Canada, and happily, at least for a time, allayed political animosities; each party vied and co-operated with the other in the preparations to accord the heir-apparent a loyal and most enthusiastic welcome. Twenty thousand dollars was voted offhand for the entertainment of His Royal Highness.

Mr. Brown moved his constitutional resolutions in the House, which attracted a respectable vote; but under the system of party government, ministers could scarcely be expected to suddenly adopt the principles of an opponent, no matter how sound such principles might appear. Mr. Brown's proposals were consequently for the time being voted down, but as before stated, they eventually prevailed. Some intractable members of the Opposition moved resolutions of questionable expediency to embarrass the government. The Opposition, under Mr. Brown's leadership, was not regularly organized, and was anything but a cohesive body, as he could never command

much of a following from Quebec, owing to his advocacy of representation by population, and to the articles which are said to have appeared in the *Globe,* complaining of French domination. The articles were not generally written or inspired by Mr. Brown himself. Mr. Cartier and his following, however, in the way of party tactics, industriously held up Mr. Brown to the *habitants* as a *bete noir.* Great French-Canadians like Mr. Dorion and Mr. Letelier knew better, and thoroughly understood Mr. Brown's motives, and love for all his fellow-beings; they were, however, for many years powerless, in the face of the declaration of Mr. Cartier and his followers, to disabuse the minds of more than a small minority of the French-speaking electorate.

Parliament adjourned on the 19th May for three months to reassemble upon the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A portion of the parliament buildings was handsomely furnished for the use of the Prince and his suite, where he was received in state on the 19th August, by both Houses, headed by the respective Speakers, Mr. Belleau, of the Legislative Council and Mr. Smith of the Legislative Assembly, both of whom had the honor of knighthood promptly conferred upon them by the gallant young Prince. As His Royal Highness was still a minor in years it is proper to state here that he was really to some extent a protege of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle during the royal visit. The steamer "Kingston" was placed at the disposal of His Royal Highness, which conveyed him to the different towns on the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario.

The persistence of the Orangemen to take an official

part, as a body, in the welcome to the Prince, a proceeding which the royal party resented, caused considerable friction and hard feeling. No landing was made at Kingston in consequence of Orange officiousness, thus depriving the "Limestone City" of an honor, for which the Duke was roundly abused by some hot-headed Orangemen. His Grace, however, acted with propriety in not recognizing any party faction or organization in which the whole population could not participate.

The non-Episcopal religious bodies, however, felt themselves somewhat slighted in the proceedings elsewhere by not receiving the same attention as was accorded to the Anglicans and Roman Catholic addresses, to which replies were vouchsafed on the spot, while it was intended to silently pocket the addresses of other denominations, and to acknowledge the same by post. The practice, however, was resented by the old Kirk Presbyterian Church, whose moderator, Rev. Dr. Matheson, of Montreal, was informed that the address which he was about to read would be received and promptly replied to by mail, whereupon the spirited doctor coolly returned the address to his own pocket. The royal party were so perturbed and taken aback by this incident that the reverend doctor was specially sent for, apologized to, and welcomed on board the royal steamer, after which the best of feeling prevailed.

His Royal Highness, among other functions, duly laid the corner-stone of the new parliament buildings at Ottawa. Upon the whole, the visit was a most enthusiastic and happy event in the history of all parts of British North America, he having visited the

Maritime Provinces first on the way out before entering the St. Lawrence River. The cordial invitation to His Royal Highness by President Buchanan of the United States to visit the great American union was accepted. His high title of Prince of Wales was temporarily laid aside, and one of his sub-titles, that of Baron Renfrew, was assumed during his American tour.

The slave laws still existed at this time in the southern portion of the United States. A fugitive slave named Anderson made his way to Canada, who in his struggle to gain his freedom killed a white man in the South. Anderson's person was demanded under the international extradition laws. The case came before the Canadian courts, and caused considerable excitement. Anderson was not extradited, mainly, it is said, through the firm stand taken against such a course by Chief Justice Archibald McLean, whose decision was generally applauded throughout the world. Another peculiar case in legal circles arose about this time. A writ, issued stupidly by the Queen's Bench of England, was served in Canada. The home authorities were promptly challenged and called to account for the flagrant infringement of Canadian jurisdiction, whereupon the English legal authorities pledged themselves not to repeat the offensive blunder.

Parliament assembled again at Quebec in March, 1861. The speech from the throne adverted to the abundant harvest of the previous year, also to Her Majesty's acknowledgments of the loyal and kindly manner in which her son had been received in the previous summer.

The usual exciting debates in the then heated state of parties were resumed. Unsuccessful attempts were made by the Opposition to pass votes of want of confidence against the government. However, the result of the recent census in showing a very considerable preponderance in the population of Upper Canada over that of Lower Canada greatly cheered the advocates of representation by population, which now became a livelier issue than ever in Upper Canada, and which continued without abatement until the confederation of the four provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was consummated a few years later.

The prorogation of parliament in May was followed by a dissolution. A vigorous contest ensued, but was happily free from the glaring abuses which disgraced the previous general election. The Reformers, as was expected, carried Upper Canada, but with the loss of their Upper Canada leader, Mr. George Brown, who was defeated in Toronto by Mr. John Crawford. The Reform *Rouge* leader in Lower Canada, Mr. Dorion, also suffered defeat at the hands of Premier Cartier in Montreal. The *Blues,* or Conservatives, again carried Lower Canada, as was expected.

The hand of death closed the earthly and checkered career of William Lyon Mackenzie this year. His was a life of noble aspirations when not goaded on to rashness by excessive ill-treatment, which caused him at one time to commit a regrettable error of judgment in attempting to overthrow the government by force of arms.

The great Civil War was at this time raging in the neighboring union, the effects of which were two-fold

in Canada. While the demands for farm products of all kinds were stimulated in Canada by the demand for war supplies, on the other hand many Confederates and sympathizers of the South made Canada an asylum for Southern refugees, who in some instances abused the hospitality of this country by organizing raids from here upon the Northern States, causing irritation to our neighbors and trouble and expense to Canada.

His Excellency Sir Edmund Walker Head retired from the governor-generalship this year. He had unfortunately incurred, by his supposed connivance at the so-called "double shuffle" incident three years previously, the displeasure of a majority, at least, of the people of Upper Canada. Sir Edmund survived his return to his native country for seven years, during which time he unsuccessfully contested the constituency of Pontefract for the British House of Commons.

Government of Lord Monck.

His Excellency Lord Monck now assumed the governor-generalship of Canada. Some eventful affairs transpired towards the end of the year. What is known as the "Trent" affair nearly involved Great Britain in hostilities with the United States. The steamship "Trent" was a regular British mail and passenger vessel, plying between the West Indies and England. On a certain voyage to England she had on board two Southern gentlemen, Messrs. Mason and Slidell as ordinary passengers. The steamer was illegally and forcibly stopped by the United States

armed vessel "San Jacinto," commanded by Captain Wilkes, and the two Southern gentlemen forcibly taken off as prisoners.

For this high-handed act Captain Wilkes was proclaimed a hero by the irresponsible press and unthinking portion of the people of the Northern States. On the other hand the greatest indignation was aroused throughout the British Empire and the colonies. Preparations for war were promptly commenced. Meanwhile the British government made a formal demand for the return of Mason and Slidell, including an apology for the outrage. The good Prince Consort Albert, then on his death-bed, was shown a draft copy of the proposed demand; he eliminated any unnecessary strong language from the document in order to render it as acceptable as possible to that great and good man at Washington, President Lincoln. The demand was promptly complied with and hostilities between the two kindred nations was providentially and happily averted.

All too soon after these events, on the 15th December, His Royal Highness Albert, the Prince Consort, breathed his last, greatly lamented throughout the world for his great qualities of mind and heart. His great services to his adopted country were only beginning to be moderately appreciated throughout the Empire. His death was a terrible bereavement to his widowed wife, Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, who for the long space of forty subsequent years, until her death, never ceased to mourn for the loss of her supremely noble husband, whose character and attributes were a pattern for imitation in every walk of life.

Lord Monck opened the first session of the new parliament in March, 1862, with brilliant formalities. Mr. Turcotte was elected Speaker over Mr. Sicotte by a majority of thirteen votes.

The speech from the throne was delivered on the following day. A fitting tribute was paid to the memory of the late Prince Consort.

Reference was made to Her Majesty's appreciation of the alacrity and loyalty displayed by Canadians during the short period of threatened hostilities over the "Trent" affair.

It was announced that Her Majesty's government had sanctioned free interprovincial commercial intercourse between the British North American provinces.

The report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the militia was promised. The consideration of a speech from the throne is usually proceeded with not later than upon the Monday following its delivery, but upon this occasion a postponement was announced, much to the surprise of members not behind the scenes. The sequel, however, soon transpired. Important cabinet changes were in process. The commissioner of Crown lands, Mr. Vankoughnet, and the solicitor-general, J. C. Morris, who was unable to procure a seat, resigned to go upon the bench. Mr. John Ross also withdrew from the government. These three vacancies in the cabinet were filled by Mr. James Patton of the Legislative Council, and Messrs. Carling and J. B. Robinson of the Legislative Assembly. Owing to the defeat of Mr. Brown at the late general election, Mr. J. Sandfield Macdonald became the leader of the Re-

formers, where he rendered valuable services, both to his country and party, as we will yet see.

The reply to His Excellency's speech was now proceeded with, and finally adopted after a protracted and bitter debate, by the considerable majority of seventeen.

There were, however, unmistakable indications that the government was weakening. Mr. Sydney Smith, the postmaster-general, voted against his own colleagues upon the question of representation by population, and Mr. Paton, the new solicitor-general, was defeated upon appealing to his constituents of the Saugeen division.

A resolution to Her Majesty upon the death of the Prince Consort was heartily concurred in by all parties, thereby causing a temporary truce in the stormy arena.

Some unblushing jobbery in the stationery supplies for the Houses of Parliament and public service was detected by the Opposition members in the Public Accounts Committee. As one sample of the frauds it may be stated that as much as $6 each for ordinary penknives was paid by the government. These exposures raised a furore, particularly as there was again a deficiency in the revenue.

The government introduced a militia bill in May, some provisions of which the Opposition opposed, and made a test question of the same upon the second reading of the bill. The government was defeated by seven votes, and again astutely chose a good question upon which to fall, and at once resigned the seals of office.

His Excellency called upon Mr. John Sandfield

Macdonald to form a government, in which he succeeded. His cabinet is known to political history as the Macdonald-Sicotte government, and was comprised of Messrs. Adam Wilson, Foley, James Morris, Howland, W. Macdougall, Sicotte, Abbott, Magee, Dorion, Tessier and Evanturel.

Premier Sandfield Macdonald was Canadian born, of Scotch Roman Catholic stock. He was a shrewd and honest lawyer, thrifty, and most careful of public assets. As a statesman he did not possess the tranquil and magnetic temperament of his approximately namesake, John A. Macdonald, which may have been partly due to the former's feeble health. The chief motive of Premier Sandfield Macdonald, was apparently to husband the resources of the country, and to deal the same out sparingly, while the latter was on the constant outlook to strengthen the party, and at the same time to utilize funds in the development of the country's resources.

The representation by population question was for the time being shelved by the new government, which was not quite relished by the Upper Canada Reformers. Mr. Brown and the *Globe* were naturally somewhat disappointed at the postponement of this question. The Reform party, however, greatly preferred the new administration to the late one and gave it their support.

The death of two prominent men occurred this year in the persons of Mr. W. H. Merritt, the enterprising, zealous and successful originator and promoter of the great Welland canal scheme; and Sir Allan McNab, ex-premier, etc., of Canada.

His Excellency opened the provincial exhibition at

Toronto in September, where he created a good impression. The Macdonald-Sicotte government now sustained a serious loss in the retirement of their colleague Mr. Dorion upon the question of a proposed intercolonial policy.

Canada and the other British provinces were enjoying much prosperity these times through the beneficial effects of the Reciprocity Treaty, especially as the demand for animals and farm products was unusually brisk, owing to the protracted war across the border. The effect of the American Civil War upon the Mother Country, on the other hand, was, however, disastrous, owing to the blockade of the ports of the Southern States, thereby cutting off the supply of raw cotton, forcing many factories in Great Britain to close down for want of raw material, thus causing grievous distress to many thousands of operatives. There were already, also, on the other side of the border, indications of a movement for the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty.

Parliament assembled at Quebec on the 13th of February, 1863. The Conservative majority in the Legislative Council elected the Hon. Alexander Campbell as Speaker of that chamber. The Speaker of the Upper House was not then, as now, a government appointment, or Mr. Campbell, a Conservative, would not have been made Speaker at the time.

In the speech from the throne His Excellency congratulated the country on the loyal spirit displayed by the people in the formation of volunteer companies and drill associations, and for the spontaneous contribution sent to the Mother Country to relieve the distress in the cotton manufacturing districts.

Some very useful legislation was passed, but the question of representation by population was still kept in the background by the ministry, but not without some difficulty.

A vacancy occurred in the representation of South Oxford in March. Mr. Bodwell was the nominee of the Reform party and the government candidate. Mr. George Brown, however, on being warmly pressed to enter the field as a candidate, consented and was elected. Mr. Brown felt, however, somewhat out of place, he being loth to aid in defeating the government, and at the same time he could not consistently give his most cordial support to any government which did not make representation by population one of its planks.

Mr. R. W. Scott's Separate School bill was a source of embarrassment to the ministerial supporters from Protestant Upper Canada.

The finances, despite rigid economy, were not in a flourishing condition, which the ministry attributed to the prodigality of their predecessors in office.

The leader of the Upper Canada Opposition, the Hon. John A. Macdonald, shrewdly observing an opportunity of defeating the government, moved in May a direct vote of want of confidence in the ministry, which was carried by a majority of five, after a protracted debate.

The premier, instead of resigning, decided to reconstruct his cabinet, and appeal to the country. Messrs. Foley, Magee and some others were left out of the reconstructed cabinet and soon drifted into opposition. Mr. Dorion re-entered the cabinet as leader of the *Rouges* of Lower Canada.

The government were sustained at the polls by an apparent majority of twelve, which, however, comprised some unstable supporters.

The new parliament assembled in August. Mr. L. Walbridge was elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and Mr. U. J. Tessier for the Legislative Council. Although the speech from the throne was somewhat non-committal, it was, however, hotly debated. The Conservative leader asserted that the late dissolution of parliament was unconstitutional, for the reason that it had been asked for by the Macdonald-Sicotte government, and granted to the Macdonald-Dorion government. The fine point raised by the Opposition has not engaged the serious attention of any constitutional commentators.

The changes in the personnel of the cabinet were sharply criticised, and the discarded ex-ministers, Messrs. Sicotte, Magee and Foley became openly hostile. The debate upon the address lasted three weeks, and was only carried by the small majority of three.

The government had a hard fight for existence throughout the session, which ended in October. The finances, owing to former obligations, continued in a depressed condition despite the exercise of extreme economy. The gloomy financial outlook was further intensified by unmistakable indications that the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States would certainly be abrogated at Washington in the very near future.

A member of the government, Mr. Macdougall, having been credited with a statement that the principle of representation by population had been abandoned, was a signal for the damaging opposition of the Toronto *Globe*.

The government were further weakened by the loss of a seat at a bye-election in South Leeds, caused by the acceptance of a portfolio by its able and worthy member, Mr. A. N. Richards.

The Opposition brought out a strong candidate in the person of Mr. D. F. Jones, who was strongly backed by Hon. John A. Macdonald and Mr. Magee in person, and who according to the impartial Conservative historian, McMullen, brought with them into the riding $10,000, where they remained during the contest in order to defeat Mr. Richards. Mr. Macdonald asserted that the Reform party spent $7,000, and that he spent $8,000 and had $2,000 left after defeating Mr. Richards by a small majority. There were two days of open voting in those days, which afforded active workers an opportunity of knowing how the poll was standing from time to time, and to expend accordingly.

The majority of the government in a House of one hundred and thirty members was reduced to one. Parliament met again in February of 1864. The speech from the throne referred to militia matters; to the progress upon the Ottawa parliament buildings; to the Reciprocity Treaty; to ocean steamship services and various other questions.

It was alleged that the government attempted to strengthen themselves from the ranks of the Lower Canada opposition, but without success.

Mr. Brown was awkwardly pressing the representation by population question, greatly to the embarrassment of the ministry. He suggested that the government might as well resign, upon which suggestion they acted.

His Excellency requested Mr. Ferguson Blair to form a government, but he did not succeed. Sir E. P. Tache was then entrusted with the formation of an administration, in which he succeeded by making it a coalition government, comprised of the following gentlemen: Sir. E. P. Tache, Cartier, Galt, Chapais, Magee, Langevin, J. A. Macdonald, Campbell, Buchanan, Foley, Simpson and James Cockburn.

The platform of the administration promised some reforms in the militia department; the continuance, if possible, of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States; a commercial union with the Maritime Provinces, and the permanent establishment of the seat of government at Ottawa.

The re-election of ministers was vigorously opposed by members of the late Macdonald-Dorion government and their friends. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, with true Highland characteristics, was burning for revenge, and declared that he would mete out to the new ministers the same hostility, both at the polls and in the House, which they had shown to him. It was a case of veritable war to the knife between the rival John Macdonalds.

Postmaster-General Foley was defeated at the bye-election in North Waterloo by Mr. Isaac E. Bowman, which was a severe blow to the government. It was also bitterly assailed by the Opposition in the House, where it could not rely upon a majority of more than two votes, and was finally left in a minority by a vote moved by Mr. Dorion censuring Mr. Galt for making a loan to the city of Montreal of $100,000 without the authority of parliament.

A deadlock now ensued, and it was feared that the

constitution of the united provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had become well-nigh unworkable.

Mr. George Brown, however, fortunately foresaw that the present system of government was reaching an acute stage. He had shortly before taken steps to secure a committee, of which he was chairman, to consider the best means to remedy the difficulties which had arisen in the conduct of the government. The committee had already held several meetings and recommended a federal system either for the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, or a more comprehensive scheme of a federation of all the British North American provinces.

Mr. Brown now came forward as a patriotic guiding star, and expressed a readiness to assist and cooperate with either or both parties to avert the recurring crises. Mr. John A. Macdonald patriotically availed himself eagerly of Mr. Brown's valuable assistance, calling upon Mr. Brown at his hotel in Quebec; whereupon the two old antagonists magnanimously buried the hatchet for the good of the country. Mr. Brown preferred to give an outside support to any government pledged to carry out a federal scheme. However, Mr. Macdonald declared that it was indispensable that Mr. Brown should become a member of the proposed coalition government to give effect to their united ideas. Mr. Brown, therefore, after consulting with his friends, consented to enter the cabinet, taking with him from Upper Canada Mr. William Macdougall and Mr. Oliver Mowat. Mr. Macdougall was defeated by Mr. Matthew Crooks Cameron upon appealing to his constituents in North Ontario for re-election. He, however, secured a seat

in North Lanark. Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, being unfortunately opposed to the scheme of confederation, did not become a member of the new government.

The newly-formed coalition government found themselves overwhelmingly strong, both in the House and in the country, a virtual political millennium having succeeded the recent unseemly party strife. The preliminary negotiations, which eventually resulted in the consummation of the large scheme of confederation, were immediately entered upon, greatly to the delight of practically all the people of Old Canada. It was a most fortunate concidence that the Maritime Provinces were also making a similar movement among themselves to consider the expediency of forming a Maritime union for their own provinces, and had already arranged for a conference at Charlottetown in September.

The Canadian government, as has been already stated elsewhere, took advantage of this circumstance and requested the privilege of sending a delegation to the conference to participate in some informal discussions. The request, as before stated, was acceded to, and a delegation of eight members of the cabinet, which naturally included Messrs. Macdonald and Brown, were sent to Charlottetown accordingly. The result of the deliberations was an adjournment to meet in Quebec in October. It has been remarked that the anticipated difficulty on the part of the Maritime delegates of agreeing upon a capital for the Maritime union had its weight with those gentlemen in favor of the proposed Canadian union.

The truly great and historical conference assembled

in Quebec on the 10th of October, and was comprised of thirty-three veteran statesmen. Of these, twelve were from Canada, five from Nova Scotia, seven from New Brunswick, seven from Prince Edward Island, and two from Newfoundland. Sir E. P. Tache was elected president, and Major Hewitt Bernard, secretary.

The conference sat for eighteen days with closed doors. Many difficulties must have arisen from time to time, but they seem to have been effectually smoothed over, to the great joy of the Canadian people.

Towards the end of the year Mr. Mowat, who held the portfolio of postmaster-general, retired to accept a seat upon the Chancery Bench of Upper Canada. Mr. W. P. Howland succeeded Mr. Mowat in the government, and was re-elected in West York by acclamation.

Owing to one cause or another the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States was becoming most unpopular in that country. It has been remarked that much irritation had arisen between the two countries, owing to the presence in Canada of so many Southern agitators, and to the misplaced sympathy with the South by not a few Canadians.

Sir L. H. Lafontaine, the able ex-premier and colleague of Mr. Baldwin, died this year, greatly regretted.

Parliament met again in Quebec in January, 1865. His Excellency Lord Monck congratulated the House upon the prosperity and great contentment of the people in anticipation of the confederation of the several provinces, and invoked the most careful con-

THE FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION.

From the painting by Harris.

sideration and discussion of the momentous question now about to be submitted to them.

An exhaustive but temperate debate ensued, the report of which filled more than one thousand octavo pages.

The address was adopted by a vote of ninety-one to thirty-three, only four Upper Canada members voting against it. The amendment to the address was moved and seconded by two Lower Canada members, Messrs. Dorion and Laframboise.

A motion was then adopted by the House requesting the Imperial parliament to provide the necessary legislation to give effect to the general scheme of union of the provinces, and the prorogation took place in March.

While the proposed confederation scheme was extremely popular in Canada, the outlook for the project in the Maritime Provinces for a time was decidedly dark. The Canadian government, backed by His Excellency, were, however, enthusiastically earnest in a determination to secure the accomplishment of the great and commendable object. Four of its members, Messrs. Macdonald, Brown, Cartier and Galt, were sent to press the scheme upon the willing ears of the home government.

The Palmerston government, then in power, gave every assurance of sympathy, but would not attempt to coerce any province. It was willing, however, to give a financial guarantee for the building of the Intercolonial Railway; to complete the fortifications at Quebec, and equip the same with modern artillery, and also to place Canada in possession of the North-West Territories upon reasonable compensation being

given to the Hudson's Bay Company for their claims by right of occupation.

The premier, Sir E. P. Tache, died during the year, and was succeeded in the premiership by Sir Narcisse Belleau.

The parliament of Old Canada met at the ancient capital in August, for the last time, chiefly to receive the report of the confederation delegates, returned from England, which was as favorable as was anticipated, and also to complete some important business in connection therewith. The unpopular bill-stamp measure, for revenue purposes, was enacted during the session.

It was announced that the home government would give its moral support in the somewhat hopeless negotiations which were pending for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States.

The session was a comparatively short one, the Opposition at this time being numerically weak and indisposed to factious opposition; very little time of the House was therefore wasted.

The construction of the new parliament buildings at Ottawa being now sufficiently advanced to admit of occupation, preparations were made for the permanent removal of all the immense paraphernalia from Quebec to Ottawa.

About the beginning of January, 1866, Mr. Brown, to the regret of the community generally, withdrew from the administration, as most people thought, prematurely. One cause assigned for the step was a disagreement with his colleagues as to the course to be adopted in the negotiations for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty at Washington, and also as to the

personnel of the delegates to be sent upon that important mission. It seems true at any rate that the unfortunate ignoring of Mr. Brown in the selection of the two delegates was an inconceivable blunder, as of all Canadians likely to make a favorable impression upon the American congress, Mr. Brown was pre-eminently the man, seeing that both he and his paper, the *Globe,* had been gratefully recognized by the American people as warm friends for the maintenance of the American union, which at one period appeared to be in jeopardy.

During the recent terrible Civil War Messrs. Galt and Howland were chosen as delegates to Washington, where anticipated failure was soon realized, as Mr. Galt, like most of his party, was not looked upon as having been friendly to the North during the Civil War.

Mr. Brown held that his withdrawal from the cabinet did not endanger the cause of confederation, as it was an assured fact before he left the government, and it was, moreover, well known that he had no love for coalition governments. Mr. Brown must certainly be classed as an unwavering and staunch upholder not only of confederation, but also of British connection. Mr. Brown was succeeded in the cabinet by Mr. Ferguson Blair, a highly respected and veteran Liberal, whose constituents of North Wellington endorsed his action.

It was now definitely ascertained that the Reciprocity Treaty would positively terminate within a very few months, therefore American buyers and Canadian sellers exerted themselves to the utmost in transporting as much farm produce and live stock

across the border as possible before the 17th March, which was the date fixed for the actual termination of the treaty.

This ungracious step on the part of Congress caused much temporary inconvenience to Canadian farmers, as a large trade had grown up between the two countries. Canadians were, besides, seriously annoyed at this time by Fenian organizations in the United States, the government of that country was generally remiss in not preventing the incursion of the impious horde upon Canadian soil. Loss of life and much expense had to be incurred by this country in watching for threatened invasions, and in repelling actual invasions. Our volunteer militia gallantly drove back such Fenians as they did not kill or take prisoners. Some of the latter were tried and convicted in the civil courts, and sent to the penitentiary, but none suffered the death penalty.

Parliament met in the new buildings at Ottawa for the first time, on the 8th June, 1866. His Excellency's speech informed the House that he had been instructed by the home government to convene a council to be comprised of representatives of the British North American provinces, in consequence of the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty by the United States, in order to consider the expediency of securing new outlets of trade, which resulted in sending a deputation to Brazil and the West Indies to ascertain the best mode of promoting trade with those countries.

The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty rendered the adoption of a new tariff necessary, consequently Mr. Galt, the inspector-general, introduced a

judicious measure to that end. The maximum customs rate upon manufactured goods was placed at fifteen per cent. The duty on whiskey was placed at thirty cents per gallon, which had the effect of doubling the price of that article.

Mr. Galt also introduced a Currency Act, which did not prove to be popular, as it made the Bank of Montreal the sole medium for the issue of provincial notes. It was felt, whether justly or unjustly, by some people in those days, that the Bank of Montreal was getting to be too influential and domineering over the less powerful banking institutions of the country.

The writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended for one year in consequence of the active Fenian organization still going on in the United States.

Some useful amendments were made to the municipal laws of Upper Canada, as affecting assessments and the municipal franchise. Resolutions were introduced by the government to define the respective constitutions of Upper Canada (now renamed Ontario), and of Lower Canada (now renamed the grand erstwhile name of Quebec), the constitution of which was different somewhat from that of Ontario. A single legislative chamber only was provided for Ontario. while Quebec adhered to the old system of retaining both the Legislative Assembly and a Legislative Council, and the dual languages, and also of adhering to fixed senatorial and Legislative Council divisions, while in Ontario senators may be chosen at large throughout the province.

The progress towards the great Canadian union began to attract the attention of some American politicians, who did not relish the possibility of a future

great power rising in the north upon this continent. A Mr. Banks introduced a bill in Congress providing for the admission of the Canadian provinces into so many separate states of the American union. The bill was read twice and then referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. These proceedings, however. only provoked a contemptuous smile in Canada.

Canadians had already began to realize the great value of the vast heritage which they possessed, and of the proud future which lay before them. The new Dominion was starting out with a new form of government and constitution superior to that of any country in the world, and they would not now, at any rate, exchange the name of Canadian for that of any other name or nationality—not even for English, Scotch or Irish, to say nothing of American.

Meantime a favorable change towards the Canadian union happily came over the people of the province of New Brunswick, as testified at a general election recently held, and in Nova Scotia the union scheme was adopted by a fair majority in the legislature.

A delegation comprised of six members from Old Canada, five from New Brunswick, and five from Nova Scotia, proceeded to London in November to arrange the final conditions and details of the Act of Union to be submitted to the Imperial parliament. The delegation established their headquarters at the Westminster Palace Hotel, where they were subsequently joined by an untiring and powerful ally in the person of the Canadian governor-general, Lord Monck.

Some alterations to suit the wishes of the Mari-

time delegates were made in the resolutions of the Quebec conference of 1864. Consultations were also had with the law officers of the Crown in order to render the proposed bill as workable, just, and as perfect as possible, and which conferred greater powers upon Canada than had hitherto been granted to any other dependency or colony. The draft measure having been harmoniously adopted by the delegates was introduced in the House of Lords by the Earl of Carnarvon on the 7th February, 1867, and received the second reading on the 12th, passed through committee on the 22nd, read a third time on the 26th, and sent to the House of Commons for a first reading, where the second reading took place on the 28th, all in the same month.

A debate ensued at this stage, but the criticisms were not factious, and the bill was allowed to pass through committee on the 4th March, and through its third reading on the 8th March, and sent back to the Lords for their concurrence in a few judicious amendments made in the commons, which was agreed to by their Lordships on the 12th March, and on the 29th of the same month the bill received the royal assent, and the 1st of July was fixed upon as the birthday of the new Dominion—to be proudly announced by a royal proclamation. A copy of the Act, known as the British North America Act, will be found in "Appendix B" of this book.

Following the passing of this Act, Mr. Adderly introduced a bill in the Commons guaranteeing a loan of $15,000,000 for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, which was passed in due course.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

From its formation in 1867 down to the present time.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK (*Continued*).

LORD MONCK was fittingly appointed governor-general of the Dominion, which he so greatly aided in the creation of. He was sworn in by Chief Justice Draper.

As to the first choice for the premiership, a few observations will be in order. The premiership of Old Canada had now lapsed, and its late occupant, Sir Narcisse Belleau, was relegated to the lieutenant-governorship of Quebec. The leader of the Reform party, Mr. George Brown, could lay no claim to the position, he having previously renounced ministerial responsibility at an alleged critical period, and that he had recently avowed his hostility to coalition governments was well known. Mr. Cartier was a prominent man with a larger following than any other member, but the Hon. John A. Macdonald was naturally looked upon as pre-eminently fitted for the high position, and was therefore very properly invited by His Excellency to form the first Dominion cabinet, in which he succeeded without difficulty. His colleagues were chosen from the ranks of both political parties. There were thirteen portfolios at his

disposal, comprising a few new departments, with also change of the designation in other former departments, and were filled as follows:

Minister of justice, John A. Macdonald; postmaster-general, Alexander Campbell; president of the council, Ferguson Blair; minister of inland revenue, W. P. Howland; public works, William Macdougall; militia and defence, G. E. Cartier; minister of finance, A. T. Galt; minister of agriculture, J. C. Chapais; secretary of state for Canada, H. L. Langevin; minister of customs, S. L. Tilley; minister of marine and fisheries, Peter Mitchell; secretary of state for the provinces, A. G. Archibald; receiver-general, Edward Kenny. The title or designation of several portfolios was subsequently changed.

His Excellency announced that Her Majesty had been pleased to confer a knighthood upon Mr. Macdonald, and a Companionship of the Bath upon Messrs. Cartier, Tilley, Macdougall, Galt, Tupper and Howland.

Mr. Cartier, with characteristic spirit, declined the proffered honor on the reasonable ground of being a strong leader from his own province, therefore equally entitled to, at least, the same honor as a weaker leader locally from another province. Mr. Cartier's view of the case seems to have been shortly afterwards concurred in by conferring upon him a baronetcy of the United Kingdom, a somewhat higher honor than that conferred upon the premier.

Meanwhile Mr. Brown had called a convention in early summer of the Liberals of the newly named province of Ontario, for the purpose of adopting a party platform. The call was responded to by more than

six hundred delegates, including Messrs. Macdougall and Howland. A resolution was submitted condemning the coalition system of government, and asserting the expediency of at once returning to former party lines. Messrs. Macdougall, Howland and a very few others prudently advised delay. Mr. Brown was, however, strongly opposed to coalitions and owing to his strong personality the proposed resolution was adopted almost unanimously.

Mr. Brown was, no doubt, right in theory, but his premature course proved to be disastrous for the time being both to himself and to many of his worthy followers at the polls. As to the selection of Reform candidates for the coming election struggle shortly to take place under the new order of things, Mr. Brown deemed it inexpedient that he should be a candidate himself, owing to his frequent embarrassing positions in connection with the *Globe* newspaper. He was, however, persuaded by the convention to reconsider his decision, with which he reluctantly complied by standing for the riding of South Ontario against Mr. T. N. Gibbs, a strong man, who had held the seat since Mr. Mowat's retirement from the riding up to that time.

The chances at the polls for Mr. Brown and his stalwart followers were rendered still more doubtful owing to the formation of a coalition government for the Province of Ontario as well, under the premiership of the veteran John Sandfield Macdonald, who was heartily reciprocating with the new Dominion premier in the elections for both the House of Commons and the Provincial Legislature, which were held at the same time and in the same polling booths.

The election laws of the time provided for two days of open voting, at such dates and in such ridings as the government of the day deemed of most advantage to themselves. They usually selected government strongholds for the first elections in order to gain prestige as the elections progressed. On the occasion of the first Dominion election a period of six weeks elapsed between the dates of the first and last contests.

The first election held was in South Ontario, where a battle royal ensued. A test of public opinion was to be made in this riding and a supreme effort was put forth to defeat the Reform leader. Mr. Brown entered single-handed into the campaign, with his characteristic energy. His opponent, Mr. Gibbs, was also quite active, and was being favored besides with support from both the Dominion and Provincial governments. Mr. Brown's campaign was doubtless an expensive one to himself. He led his opponent by a small majority on the first day's polling, but on the second day of polling the sinews of war were said to be used so freely on the side of his opponent that the election was lost to Mr. Brown by a majority of sixty votes.

The depressing effects of this memorable contest no doubt resulted in the defeat of several Reform candidates, who might otherwise have been elected, but for the early party disaster in South Ontario. The result of the general election gave the coalition governments, both at Ottawa and Toronto, a large majority. The result in Nova Scotia was, however, a protest against the manner in which the union was carried in that province. A list of members returned for both

houses at this first election for the Dominion and provinces will be found in "Appendix A."

Mr. Galt, the finance minister, resigned his portfolio a few days before the meeting of parliament, owing to the persistent attack made upon him over his Currency Bill, which he had shortly before had carried through the provincial parliament of Canada. It was rather unfairly alleged that Mr. Galt's financing had caused the suspension of the Commercial Bank of Canada, and had also brought some other banks nearly to the verge of ruin. Mr. Galt's sensitive nature could not withstand these strictures, he therefore retired from the government. No one, however, acquainted with Mr. Galt's character could doubt his honest desire to serve his country to the best of his ability. Sir John Rose, a most estimable gentleman, succeeded Mr. Galt as finance minister.

House of Commons.

The first parliament of the Dominion met at Ottawa on the 7th November, 1867. Mr. James Cockburn, member for the west riding of Northumberland, was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. Joseph Cauchon, of Quebec, was appointed Speaker of the Senate, the Speakership of the Senate, under the new constitution, being now a government appointment.

His Excellency delivered the speech from the throne on the following day, in which reference was made to the happy and historical event which had ushered in a new nationality for the people of Canada. An unusual number of topics of a prac-

tical nature were appropriately referred to under the new order of things. It being the first session of the Dominion Parliament, nearly every branch of the public service would require more or less remodelling to meet the changed and enlarged condition of matters—particularly as some of the functions and branches of the service formerly administered by the old government of Canada were now relegated to the respective provincial governments.

The address and reply to the speech from the throne was moved and seconded by Messrs. Fisher and Desaulniers and debated several days. Among the many remarkable speeches were those of the great orator from Nova Scotia, the veteran ex-premier, Joseph Howe, who spoke from an anti-confederation standpoint. He was ably replied to by his old antagonist, another veteran from Nova Scotia, Dr. Charles Tupper—also an ex-premier—in support of the confederation scheme. The high debating talent of the new House soon became apparent. The address finally passed without a division.

The Act authorizing the construction of the Intercolonial Railway was criticised, chiefly owing to the government having chosen the longest, therefore, the most expensive route, known as the Major Robinson route, adopted, it is alleged, for military reasons. Mr. Dorion divided the House upon the question, but only obtained thirty-five votes to eighty-three.

Mr. Macdougall introduced a series of resolutions looking to the acquisition of the North-West Territories, which were adopted after a debate in which the disgruntled Mr. Howe spoke in a deprecating tone. He was followed by Mr. Tilley in an able and patriotic speech.

Mr. Rose, the finance minister, delivered the first Dominion budget in a pleasing and reassuring manner. He promised that the past chronic deficit would now disappear, seeing that the parliament buildings were completed, and the Fenian raids, so costly to Canada, were probably over.

A long adjournment took place on the 21st December, for the purpose of allowing the provincial parliaments to meet before the end of the year, as their respective constitutions demanded.

A vacancy took place in the cabinet, owing to the death of Mr. Ferguson Blair, one of the Reform members of the cabinet, which was left unfilled for a time.

After the adjournment, Mr. Howe, and other anti-confederationists resumed the agitation for a repeal of the union, in so far as Nova Scotia was concerned. The legislature of Nova Scotia having adopted an address to the Imperial parliament praying for repeal, Mr. Howe and three other delegates were sent to the Mother Country to promote the cause of disunion. They, however, fortunately received no encouragement from the home government. Dr. Tupper was delegated by the Dominion government to counteract the efforts of the anti-confederates. The question was brought up in the British House of Commons, but the sympathy in that body was unmistakably with the union party.

Owing to the circulation in Canada of large quantities of British and American silver coins, and to the evident scarcity of Canadian silver for circulation, the government deemed it expedient to issue paper currency of the small denomination of twenty-five cents, commonly known as "shin-plasters," owing

to the somewhat diminutive size of the bill. The British shillings and American quarters were generally accepted by dealers, but were subject to a discount of five per cent. and upwards in the banks, which was both a hardship and a nuisance to holders. The little bills afforded considerable relief until an additional coinage of Canadian silver was effected.

The adjourned session of the first parliament reassembled in March, 1868.

A most deplorable tragedy occurred in Ottawa a few weeks after the reassembling of the House, in the assassination of one of the brightest members of parliament, Mr. T. D. Magee. This gentleman was a native of Ireland, and had been in his earlier days a sympathizer with the repeal party in Ireland. Coming to the United States he naturally was in sympathy, for a time, with the anti-British party of that country. Later on he made Canada his home, where he was greatly admired by all classes for his high-class lectures and great literary talent. He was invited to enter the Canadian political arena, where with maturer years and good treatment he soon became a patriotic Canadian and a thoroughly loyal British subject. The nemesis of blind hate and revenge, however, was upon his track. A conspiracy had been formed by some desperate men to put him to death as a supposed renegade from the Irish cause. Magee had never ceased to be a staunch friend of either his native land or of his church, but in later life wisely believed in the policy only of using constitutional means to alleviate the wrongs of Ireland. He was nevertheless ruthlessly made a cruel victim by a few of his misguided former associates, who

failed to understand the high motives of their distinguished compatriot.

Parliament decided to give the noble and innocent victim of blind revenge a public funeral, and to provide a moderate pension for his grief-stricken wife and children. One, Patrick James Whelan, a tailor, was convicted of crouching silently under the shadow of night behind Mr. Magee, who was on his way from the parliament buildings to his boarding house, and of discharging a pistol close at his victim's head, causing instantaneous death. Whelan died upon the scaffold without revealing the names of his fellow-conspirators.

The labors of the session having been completed prorogation took place on the 20th of May.

Meantime the respective provincial legislatures and governments were fully organized and engaged in the discharge of their important functions, which were legitimately of a more local character. (A comparatively brief reference to the respective provincial administrations will be made at the close of the narrative of Dominion administration.)

During the recess Mr. W. P. Howland resigned his portfolio of the inland revenue department to become lieutenant-governor of Ontario. Mr. Alexander Morris succeeded him as minister of inland revenue.

The premier with some members of his cabinet visited Nova Scotia during the summer on a commendable mission of conciliation towards the anti-confederates of that province. Their efforts did not bear immediate fruit, but as the agitators for repeal now despaired of any encouragement from the home government, an earnest appeal was specially made to

the patriotism of Mr. Howe, requesting him to bury the hatchet and enter the cabinet. Mr. Howe did not at once accede to the proposal, but after a few months' consideration he finally decided to cease the hopeless agitation and to accept the proffered portfolio, providing the terms were made somewhat better, which was probably agreed to. This patriotic step on the part of Mr. Howe incurred the most bitter hostility of many of his late co-workers for repeal. He having accepted the portfolio of president of the council was obliged to face his constituents of Hants County for re-election. Many of his former supporters consequently were now his most active opponents. He was, however, re-elected after a most spirited and expensive contest.

Sir George Cartier and the Hon. William Macdougall now proceeded to Great Britain for the purpose of arranging the terms for the acquisition of the North-West Territories.

His Excellency Lord Monck having now succeeded in firmly establishing the Canadian confederation, retired from the position of governor-general, universally respected and admired as a pre-eminently wise, patriotic, courteous and successful statesman. He was succeeded by Lord Lisgar towards the end of 1868.

Government of Lord Lisgar.

The new governor-general opened parliament in April, 1869, in a congratulatory speech, in which he foreshadowed considerable legislation in the way of amendments to the criminal, bankruptcy, election,

banking and patent laws. The address in reply to the speech from the throne, moved and seconded by Messrs. Simpson and Bolton, and commented upon by Mr. Holton, with some remarks by the premier, was allowed to pass on the following day.

Movements tending to confederation in both Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island temporarily loomed up, but unfortunately for some reason rather soon subsided.

Messrs. Cartier and Macdougall, with the aid of the Imperial government, completed a bargain for the peaceful occupation by Canada of the North-West Territories. The Hudson's Bay Company claimed the territory under a Trading Charter from King Charles II., and were determined to drive a hard bargain with Canada. On the other hand Cartier and Macdougall contended that the Hudson's Bay Company had no legal right to the land, and that Upper Canada had jurisdiction in said territories. A compromise, suggested by the colonial secretary, Lord Granville, was adopted, by which the Hudson's Bay Company were to get $1,500,000 in cash, and to reserve to themselves blocks of land near their trading-posts, comprising in all fifty thousand acres, and also one-twentieth of all the townships surveyed for settlement. The territories were first to be transferred to the Imperial government and then to be conveyed by the latter to the Dominion government.

This great domain had up to this time been fairly well governed by the Hudson's Bay Company under a simple but efficient set of laws for a period of about two hundred and fifty years. Some trouble arose, however, about fifty years previous to this present

date with a rival company, known as the North-West Trading Company. Some hostilities actually occurred in which the Hudson's Bay men were worsted, resulting in the death of Governor Semple and a few others. The two companies subsequently amalgamated and peace reigned supreme thereafter.

The Canadian parliament passed a temporary bill during the session for the government of the above-mentioned territory by a lieutenant-governor and council, pending the regular organization of the provinces with representative institutions. All laws in force in the territories, not inconsistent with the British North America Act, were to remain in force until repealed or amended.

Mr. Blake divided the House during the session upon the question of the constitutionality of the better terms proposed to be granted to Nova Scotia. He contended that the terms were already fixed by the British North America Act, and a precedent of the proposed kind might give future trouble with other provinces.

However, by a majority of thirty-nine members, all legal and constitutional points were laid aside and the action of the government sustained. It was desirable, of course, to conciliate the Nova Scotians, the rank and file of whom had not really been fully consulted, and unlike the people of the other provinces, were objecting all along to the proposed terms of confederation. However, the proper constitutional move would probably have been to take a little more time by requesting the Imperial government to amend the British North America Act in so far as Nova Scotia was concerned. It is possible, however,

that clause 120 of the Act furnished the government with some justification for the course pursued by them. Parliament prorogued in June, 1869.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. Stoughton Dennis, a prominent land surveyor, was sent out to the North-West in July to commence the surveying of townships along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, apparently without explicit instructions or precautions to explain and reassure the inhabitants of that country of their full rights of pre-emption, and permanent free possession of such land as they required for their homes, and for future actual settlement.

The Hon. William Macdougall resigned his portfolio in the government in September to assume the lieutenant-governorship of the new territory, but owing to some unaccountable and exasperating delays in the payments and transfer of the territory, he did not proceed upon his journey until December.

Meanwhile distrust naturally began to arise in the minds of these remote and inexperienced inhabitants over the surveys which were in process. Mr. Howe, a member of the government, had visited this settlement in advance of Mr. Macdougall, and evidently did not particularly endeavor to smooth matters ahead for his late colleague by allaying the misapprehension of either the English or French-speaking inhabitants. The disaffected people generally were known by the designation of Metis, who, in the absence of proper assurances, evidently shared the groundless fear that the tenure of their farms were in jeopardy.

The ill-starred lieutenant-governor, with his numerous retinue and governmental paraphernalia, was

now on the way to the territories *via* St. Paul and Pembina. On his arrival at the latter place, after a tedious drive across great stretches of prairies, he was surprised to find himself forestalled by the receipt of a high-handed written notice, signed by John Bruce, president; Louis Riel, secretary of state; W. B. O'Donohue (an American Fenian), treasurer; A. Lepine, adjutant-general of the provincial government, forbidding him to enter the territory.

Mr. Macdougall reported the state of matters to Ottawa, and also endeavored to communicate with the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. McTavish, at Fort Garry; but his messenger had not proceeded far upon his journey when he was arrested and sent back. A squad of armed horsemen then surrounded Mr. Macdougall's hotel and notified him that he must leave the country by nine o'clock on the following morning. At the appointed hour such hostile demonstrations were made against him that he retreated across the border to the American side. Riel then took possession of Fort Garry and garrisoned it with a force of sixty men, who helped themselves liberally to rations from the Hudson's Bay Company's well stocked stores.

Governor McTavish promptly issued a proclamation declaring the proceedings of the so-called provisional government to be illegal, which was of course unheeded by the motley band of audacious usurpers and marauders, whose heads now began evidently to swell in their dreams of future power and statescraft, which with ordinary foresight they ought to have known could only be short-lived, seeing that their only advantage was gained through their comparative

isolation, and the insurmountable difficulty of send ing an opposing force from Old Canada to disperse them during the winter months.

Lieutenant-Governor Macdougall also issued a proclamation commanding the insurgents to peacefully disperse, and also issued a commission to Colonel Dennis, the surveyor, authorizing him to raise a force, which resulted, as might have been expected, in failure, seeing that there were so few eligible and sympathetic recruits all told to be had in the new territory at that period.

Mr. Macdougall, now deeply chagrined, returned to Canada a victim of the remissness of official authority at Ottawa in not having made more prompt and thorough preparation for taking over the country. The fiasco was a source of deep disappointment, humiliation and loss of prestige to Mr. Macdougall, from which he never fully recovered. He complained bitterly of his former colleagues, and gave vent to his feelings in a scathing pamphlet characterizing the Ottawa administration of the day as an embodiment of "masterly inactivity."

The insurgents, having succeeded in getting rid of the representatives of Canadian authority, were for the time being masters of the situation. Their leaders issued a proclamation for a national convention, to which the few British inhabitants were invited. A Bill of Rights was adopted despite the protest of the British delegates. The provisional government was confirmed in power, Fort Garry was formally taken possession of, and Governor McTavish set at defiance, and open rebellion asserted itself.

A newspaper called the *New Nation* was estab-

lished as the organ of the provisional government. (The territory was certainly extensive enough for the formation of a new nation.) Several Loyalists, including Messrs. Schultz, Boulton and Scott were imprisoned, but escaped. Scott and Boulton were recaptured, while Schultz made his escape to Lake Superior, enduring great hardships by the way. Scott, having expressed a contemptuous opinion of the provisional government, was court-martialled and ruthlessly sentenced to death without the semblance of a fair or just trial, or even of an opportunity of making any explanation or of offering an apology. Remonstrances were made by the only Protestant clergyman then present, but without avail. The Roman Catholic clergy did not personally interfere, but sent a deputation to plead for mercy. Archbishop Tache was unfortunately absent from this continent, or his commanding influence upon the spot would probably have averted the whole trouble from the beginning. The Archbishop was cabled at Rome requesting his presence at home when the disturbance first commenced, and returned as soon as possible, but arrived just five days too late to prevent the worst act of the rebellion.

Scott was brutally murdered on the following morning after being sentenced. A squad of six men, under the command of the pretender adjutant Lepine, succeeded in killing their victim after some awkward firing and other cold-blooded acts. The brutality of these men was further exemplified in the refusal of a request made by both the Anglicans and Methodists for the care of the body of Scott, the disposal of which is still a mystery to the public.

Boulton had a narrow escape from a similar fate, which he owed to the timely arrival of Mr. D. A. Smith, now Lord Strathcona.

Riel had now become the autocratic leader of the provisional government and the most influential man in the territory. The news of these cruel outrages stirred the feelings of Britishers on both sides of the Atlantic to the depths, and the righteous indignation did not subside for years. A determination was universally evinced for putting down the rebellion at once with a strong hand, and also to punish the rebels.

A commission had been despatched by the Dominion government, comprised of Mr. D. A. Smith, Col. de Salaberry, and Vicar-General Thibault, to inquire into the cause of the rebellion, and to explain to the people the liberal intention of the government.

Riel permitted the commission to travel to Winnipeg under surveillance. A public meeting was addressed by the commissioners with a view to bring about a proper understanding, but Riel would not then abate his pretensions. Subsequently he agreed to the adoption of an amended Bill of Rights, setting forth the conditions upon which union with the Dominion would be accepted. Mr. Smith undertook to forward these proposals to the Ottawa government. Riel and his followers, however, continued the reign of terror in the interim by arresting loyalists and plundering the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company, and also of other dealers.

Archbishop Tache was now using his good offices as a mediator among the rank and file of the people, assuring them that he was authorized by the Ottawa government to promise all a full pardon upon laying

down their arms, and that the Ottawa government would also assume payment for the stores which had been illegally appropriated by them. In the pulpit, however, His Grace, in his capacity of spiritual adviser, before an overflowing congregation, took another course, by denouncing in the fiercest and most bitter terms the conduct of both laity and clergy for having permitted and perpetrated all this villainous madness in his absence, which had brought a lasting stain upon the history of the Red River colony.

When the nature of their rebellious misdeeds was thus vividly brought home to them, the vast congregation melted into tears of penitence. Riel was present at the service and brazened out for a time the archiepiscopal fusilade, but finally hung his head in shame. His Grace removed the priest who had charge during his absence, and sent others of the clergy, as a punishment, to the remote parts of his diocese.

The Opposition at Ottawa were meanwhile making all the party capital possible out of these unfortunate events, it got noised abroad that a promise had been given that the rebels were to be pardoned, and the goods which they had illegally appropriated were to be paid for by the government, which was a most unpopular state of matters for the government before the electorate of Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, at any rate.

The government having felt it expedient to give a denial to the report, the archbishop, in order to vindicate his own veracity, published Sir John A. Macdonald's private letter to him. The last-named gentleman had just been telling an Ontario audience

of electors that he "wished to God he could catch Riel," while his letter to the archbishop divulged the fact that he had actually at the same time sent $1,000 for the purpose of sending Riel out of the country in order to relieve the government from embarrassment. As to the promise of general pardon, the language of the letter was somewhat ambiguous, but the archbishop declared that he had been assured verbally that a pardon would be conferred.

The Imperial government ordered a military expedition to Fort Garry, chiefly comprised of Canadian volunteers under the command of the gallant Colonel Wolseley, destined to be one of the most renowned generals in the British army.

The expedition reached Fort Garry in due course *via* the then tedious Lake of the Woods canoe and portage route, but found that the enemy had fled at their approach, the most politic, if not the most gallant course the rascals could pursue.

Riel, however, still possessed great influence with his fellow Metis, who elected him to the Dominion parliament at the earliest opportunity, but as there was a warrant out against him from Ontario over the Scott murder, he was afraid to show himself after reaching Ottawa. He succeeded, however, in taking the oath in the clerk's room during the lunch hour when all was quiet within the precincts of the parliament buildings, but immediately betook himself to his hiding place. He was declared to be an outlaw by a resolution of the House of Commons. He, however, was re-elected, whereupon a vote of expulsion was passed against him, upon the ground chiefly that he was a fugitive from justice.

Parliament met in February of 1870 with the usual formalities. The address in reply to the speech from the throne was moved and seconded by Messrs. Savary and Scriver, and commented upon by Mr. Holton and the premier. A bill was introduced providing for the regular organization of a legislature for Manitoba, under the usual responsible system of government. The Assembly was to be comprised of twenty-four members and the Council of seven members.

During the discussion of the bill the Opposition in the House, led by Mackenzie and Blake, criticised the government over the past troubles in the most unsparing manner. The bill also provided for the government of the North-West Territories by a lieutenant-governor and eleven councillors.

Mr. A. G. Archibald, the secretary of state for the provinces, was appointed lieutenant-governor. Matters then went on in a constitutional way. The Legislative Council was subsequently dispensed with as a quite unnecessary appendage.

Sir John Rose, the finance minister, now retired to London, England, and was succeeded by the old veteran politician, Sir Francis Hincks, who had been nearly forgotten in the political arena.

The tariff bill—a quasi-national policy—of a previous session being harshly criticized by members generally, was subsequently repealed by its own authors during the same term of parliament in which it was adopted. Thirty-nine public and twenty private bills were passed during the session, and parliament prorogued early in May.

During the summer a considerable body of Fenians from the United States invaded Canada at two differ-

ent points in the Province of Quebec, but were gallantly driven back across the border by our volunteers, and then given a second chase upon foreign soil by the American authorities, who had now bestirred themselves to prevent a recurrence of these outrages.

Dr. Tupper, member for Cumberland, N.S., entered the cabinet in June of this year, and was re-elected by acclamation.

Some trouble unfortunately arose this year with American fishermen, who coolly persisted to continue in the full enjoyment of the privilege of the Canadian waters after the Reciprocity Treaty had been abrogated by their own government. Several poaching vessels were captured by the Canadian authorities, which caused some irritation at Washington, and also attracted the attention of the Imperial government. The outcome of this incident and some other unsettled questions, such as the Southern Confederacy armed cruiser "Alabama" claims—the vessel having been illicitly built in England for the rebels—the undefined ownership of the Island of San Juan, was the institution of a joint high commission to fully adjust all disputes between the great union and the Empire. The commissioners on the side of the Americans were Hamilton Fish, secretary of state, and four others. On the side of the British, Earl de Grey, and four others, which included the Canadian premier Sir John A. Macdonald. The deliberations were held at Washington, and were watched with keen interest in this country, as it was expected that the terms of the treaty would provide some compensation to Canada for her heavy outlays in repelling the several Fenian invasions.

The sittings of the commission lasted for more than a month, and certain recommendations were agreed upon which provided as follows:

The Alabama claims to be adjusted by a board of arbitrators to meet at Geneva, Switzerland.

The ownership of the Island of San Juan to be left to the decision of the Emperor of Germany.

The free navigation of the canals and River St. Lawrence to the Americans, and of Lake Michigan and the Yukon River to the British. The consideration for fishery privileges was to be left to arbitration.

The claim of Canada for the heavy expense incurred over the Fenian hostilities was entirely ignored.

The treaty was most unpopular in Canada. Sir John A. Macdonald was severely blamed, not only by Liberals, but also by many Conservatives, for not having stood out more strongly for the rights of Canada. It is but reasonable, however, to assume that Sir John would have been out-voted in any efforts to secure better conditions for Canada. It was perhaps not fair to have blamed him so severely as was done.

Parliament assembled in February of 1871. His Excellency's speech justly referred to the gallantry of the volunteers in having driven off the horde of Fenian invaders so expeditiously. The address in reply to the speech from the throne was moved and seconded by Messrs. Lacerte and Kirkpatrick, and commented upon by Mr. Mackenzie and the premier.

The Province of British Columbia now entered the Dominion upon the usual financial terms provided by the British North America Act, the representation in parliament to consist of six members in the House of Commons, and three in the Senate. There was also the very important condition on the part of the

Dominion that British Columbia was to be connected by rail with the older provinces within a period of ten years. Mr. Trutch was appointed lieutenant-governor by the Canadian government.

The Opposition criticised the parliamentary representation accorded the province as being largely disproportionate to the population which at that time only numbered about ten thousand white inhabitants, and twenty-three thousand Indians.

The time stipulated for the completion of the proposed railway was also criticised as being unreasonably short for the accomplishment of a work of such magnitude. The cost was also alleged to be excessive for the resources of the country.

The legislature of New Brunswick aroused some bitter animosities at this time on the part of the Roman Catholic population of the province, by the adoption of a school bill which denied state aid to all Separate Schools, whereupon the Roman Catholics persisted in an appeal to the Dominion government demanding a disallowance of the bill. The event became a very embarrassing question for legislators in both the Dominion and Provincial parliaments. The Act stood, however, the Province not having exceeded its powers. The same legislature condemned the terms of the Washington Treaty as being unjust to the Province, and asked for better financial terms from the Dominion.

Parliament assembled for the last session of the first parliament of the Dominion in April of 1872. The address in reply to the speech from the throne was moved and seconded by Messrs. Nelson and Carter, when a wordy duel of much spirit ensued

over the terms of the recent Washington Treaty, which was finally agreed to during the session.

Two historic railway charters were granted during the session looking to the construction of a Canadian Pacific Railway. The one charter was designated the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was under the auspices of Sir Hugh Allan; the other was the Inter-Oceanic Railway, under the auspices of Sir David Macpherson.

Lord Lisgar, after a satisfactory term of office to all concerned surrendered the seals of office as governor-general, and left for home after the prorogation of parliament in June.

Government of Lord Dufferin.

That greatly distinguished scholar, orator and statesman, Lord Dufferin, succeeded to the governor-generalship in 1872.

Mr. Alexander Morris resigned his portfolio in the inland revenue department to accept the Chief Justiceship of Manitoba, and was succeeded by Dr. Tupper, John O'Connor, of Essex, was taken into the cabinet as president of the council. Dual representation was abolished by a special little bill under the parentage of Mr. Costigan—it was said to embarrass Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie of the Ontario government. The constituencies were arranged to provide six additional seats in Ontario as a result of the last census enumeration. Considerable gerrymandering was perpetrated without, however, disturbing county boundaries.

The first parliament having run its full course was dissolved on the 15th of July. The country was,

however, already in the throes of an anticipated general election. The contest was a hot one, the Opposition being most aggressive, and making all possible capital against the government over the unpopularity of the Treaty of Washington, of the British Columbia terms, and of the failure to punish the rebels in the North-West.

The government, on the other hand, appeared to be lavishly supplied with campaign funds from some source or other, no election courts being then in existence to place a check upon election managers. The government selected their preliminary battle-grounds, as there was then no simultaneous polling days, and the mode was open voting. There is not the slightest doubt, however, that some candidates of the Opposition spent their own money freely in order to win in the close ridings.

The Liberals erroneously surmised at one time that the ministerialists were using the secret service fund of $50,000 for the extraordinary campaign outlays, but the chief source of supply became known later. Instead of appointing registrars and sheriffs to the positions of returning officers, partizan supporters of the government in some cases were appointed, which resulted in several election frauds and irregularities.

In West Peterboro' the minority candidate, Mr. Cluxton, was declared elected instead of the majority candidate, Mr. Bertram. In South Renfrew Mr. O'Reilly was returned over Mr. J. L. Macdougall, by the enrolment of hundreds of fictitious names as electors. In Muskoka an attempt was made to steal the election from Mr. A. P. Cockburn by the purloining of poll books. The rascals only succeeded in get-

ting away with one poll book. Mr. Cockburn, however, had a majority without the missing poll book, which was also proven to have contained a majority for him, yet the returning officer would not make any return. Mr. Cockburn, however, fared better than the other two gentlemen, he being somewhat promptly returned by the House, while the other two cases went to the committee upon elections, where they remained unsettled during the brief second parliament.

The government lost heavily at the polls in Ontario and Quebec, but fared better in the extreme East and West, thereby securing apparently a fair working majority.

The finance minister, Sir Francis Hincks, was defeated by William Paterson in South Brant, and Sir George Cartier, the minister of militia and defence, was defeated in Montreal East, by Mr. Jette, now Sir Louis Jette. Sir Francis Hincks secured a seat in Victoria, B.C., and Sir George Cartier another in Marquette, Manitoba.

Some changes took place in the cabinet during the recess. Mr. Chapais resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Robitaille in the inland revenue department. Mr. Hincks resigned the finance department and was succeeded by Mr. Tilley, who vacated the customs, where he was succeeded by Dr. Tupper.

The second parliament of the Dominion assembled for its first session on March 5, 1873. Mr. James Cockburn, of West Northumberland, was re-elected Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. P. J. O. Chauveau was appointed Speaker of the Senate by the Crown.

The speech from the throne announced that Sir Hugh Allan and a body of capitalists had months previously been awarded a charter for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway; other measures and transactions were also mentioned in His Excellency's speech.

In ordinary cases the next proceeding after the delivery of the governor's speech would be the moving of the address in reply to His Excellency, but upon this occasion Mr. Blake promptly brought up the subject of amending the return in the West Peterboro' election in favor of the candidate having the largest number of votes. This was resisted by the government by a majority of sixteen, and the case was therefore sent to the election committee after a lengthy debate, which closed on Friday night, the premier declaring that he would serve the other cases in the same way.

Several members from the Maritime Provinces, having been delayed by a snowstorm, did not arrive in time to participate in the vote on the West Peterboro' case, but were in time for the Muskoka case.

Mr. Blake next brought up the Muskoka case at the Monday sitting. Meantime the belated members arrived and had made known their disapproval of the government tactics in the West Peterboro' case. The leader of the government, therefore, decided that "discretion is the better part of valor," and consented to the immediate amendment of the writ by the insertion of the name of Mr. Cockburn, who was then promptly introduced by the Hon. A. Mackenzie and Mr. James Young. The returning officer for Muskoka, R. J. Bell, was summoned to the bar of the

House of Commons and reprimanded for not having returned the candidate who polled a majority of votes. The reply to the speech from the throne was moved and seconded by Messrs. Tobin and Palmer, and commented upon by Mr. Mackenzie and the premier.

A bill was passed during the session to rearrange the finances of the province whereby the Dominion assumed a large proportion of the respective provincial debts.

The salaries of ministers and lieutenant-governors were increased, as was the sessional indemnity to members, from $600 to $1,000.

The budget speech showed a surplus of three million dollars, and it looked like smooth sailing for the government, but there were soon to be signs of approaching storms over the Canadian Pacific Railway affairs.

About four weeks after the House met, Mr. Huntington, member for Shefford, charged certain members of the government with corrupt transactions in connection with Sir Hugh Allan and certain American capitalists, by having favored these gentlemen against all competitors in the matter of the Pacific Railway charter, upon the understanding that the said persons would advance a large sum for the use of the government candidates at the pending election. Mr. Huntington assumed the grave responsibility of stating that he was prepared to prove the charges before a committee of the House. He, therefore, made a motion for a committee, which the government refused. On the following day, however, the premier moved for a committee, to be comprised of three government and two Opposition members, to

take evidence and report; but as there was a defect in the British North America Act, which deprived a committee of the House of power to take evidence under oath, this power being vested only in the House of Lords, was by an oversight not conferred upon the Canadian parliament. An Oaths' Bill was passed to meet the present case, but was disallowed by the Imperial government as being *ultra vires,* thus causing delay.

The veteran parliamentarian Sir George Cartier died during the session, and another veteran, the Hon. Joseph Howe, retired from parliament to assume the lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia, and died within a month afterwards.

The premier now offered to have a royal commission appointed, but Messrs. Blake and Dorion, who had been previously appointed members of the parliamentary committee to investigate the charges contended that the tribunal, having been appointed by parliament, it should therefore be conducted under parliamentary guidance. Meantime the public mind was so greatly disturbed that His Excellency pressed his ministers to issue a royal commission, which was carried out by the appointment of Judges Day, Polette and Gowan. Meantime the authentic documents and telegrams in the hands of Mr. Huntington were given to the press, which created a profound sensation.

The royal commission met at Ottawa and examined Sir Hugh Allan, Sir John Macdonald and several other witnesses. The former testified that Sir George Cartier asked him for $100,000 in all for the election, which amount was afterwards increased upon the

urgent appeals of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier, but that it was no condition that he was to get the charter as a consideration for these payments. Sir John A. Macdonald, the only survivor to the arrangement—Sir George Cartier being dead—admitted Sir Hugh Allan's statement, and that the fund was handled by Messrs. Cartier and Langevin and himself.

Owing to the public excitement a session of parliament was called at the unusual period of October. His Excellency was unjustly blamed by the Liberals, in their eagerness to compass the defeat of the government, for the course pursued by him; but time soon vindicated his actions, which were both constitutional and proper under the circumstances.

Meantime the province of Prince Edward Island entered the union with six seats in the Commons and three seats in the Senate. An election was held, resulting in the return of Messrs. Laird, Sinclair, J. C. Pope, A. C. Macdonald, D. Davies and James Yeo for the Commons; Messrs. Haythorne, Montgomery and Howlon were appointed to the Senate by the Crown. These gentlemen took their seats in Ottawa for the first time at the October session of this year, and were warmly welcomed.

The government, in desperation, attempted to appease the people and to stem the rising tide of adverse public opinion during the recess, but when parliament assembled in October they found that some of their former supporters could be no longer relied upon for support. After the delivery of very able speeches by the leaders upon each side, the government resigned without dividing the House, but not

before hundreds of appointments had been made during the dying hours of the government, including the questionable appointments, under the circumstances, of Mr. Tilley as lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, and of Mr. Crawford, a member of the House, as lieutenant-governor of Ontario. The choice of the lieutenant-governors were, however, otherwise very good appointments.

His Excellency now entrusted Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, with the task of forming a ministry, which he accomplished with facility, the members of which were Messrs. Mackenzie, Cartwright. Christie, D. A. Macdonald, Dorion, Letelier, de St. Just, Fournier, A. J. Smith, Burpee, W. Ross, Coffin, Laird and Messrs. Blake and Scott without portfolios. Parliament then prorogued to give the ministers an opportunity for re-election, and of setting the House in order, and to prepare their policy, which was announced in due course. The ministers were all re-elected, either by acclamation or by large majorities. The Conservatives in caucus elected Sir John Macdonald as leader of the Opposition.

The premier, early in the year 1874, foreshadowed the policy of the administration in an address to the electors of Lambton, somewhat as follows:

The entire construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, to be undertaken at as early a date as possible consistent with the resources of the Dominion, and in the meanwhile certain sections of the railway would be constructed as speedily as possible; also some important water stretches to be utilized as ready aids in securing improved and immediate access to the North-West, and to facilitate the con-

struction of the railway; the improvement of the St. Lawrence route; the establishment of a Supreme Court at the capital; vote by ballot, and simultaneous polling days; improvement of the insolvency laws, etc.

The representatives in the Senate at that time being nearly one-sided politically in favor of the Conservative party, Mr. Mackenzie apprehended that he might possibly be embarrassed, and therefore proceeded to avail himself of a provision in the British North America Act whereby in case of a deadlock in the Senate six additional senators, with the consent of the home government, could be appointed. Mr. Mackenzie made application for the increase; but the home government very properly declined, upon the ground that no necessity had yet arisen for such an emergency, seeing that parliament had not yet met. (Mr. Mackenzie would have had a better case as regards the Senate had he waited a year or two longer before moving in the matter.)

The government advised a dissolution upon the ground that many of the present members were returned through the agency of corruption. His Excellency assented, even although a general election had been held only sixteen months previously. As the Conservative leader was at this time handicapped by the odium of the so-called Pacific Scandal, and the country naturally being willing to give the new government a fair trial, it was consequently sustained by an overwhelming majority.

Before the meeting of the House Mr. Christie resigned his portfolio to become Speaker of the Senate. Mr. Blake also retired from the government. Mr. Huntington was sworn in as president of the council, but subsequently became postmaster-general.

Parliament met in March of 1874, and elected Mr. Anglin as Speaker of the Commons. His Excellency's speech set forth that the Canadian Pacific Act of 1872 had failed of its object, and that it behooved parliament to take the necessary steps to fulfil the union agreement with British Columbia, and that the report of the civil engineers would show that progress had been made in the surveys. The premier evidently evinced more anxiety personally to fulfil the exact terms of the union with British Columbia than did some of his over-cautious supporters. The latter felt that the terms were too onerous for the resources of the country to fulfil in the specified time of 1881. Mr. Mackenzie, the premier, presided alone over the laborious department of public works, which has long since been reorganized into two distinct departments—of public works, and of railways, canals and telegraphs —each presided over by their respective ministers.

The premier's department had the misfortune during the first winter of his regime of losing, by a mysterious fire in an outbuilding, a considerable number of Canadian Pacific Railway maps and notes of the surveys recently made, which added to the delays in the preparation of all the necessary plans prior to actual construction.

Another effort was promised for the securing, if possible, of a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. Considerable progress in the construction of the Intercolonial Railway was reported.

Members were also informed that compensation from the United States for the fishery privileges under the Treaty of Washington would be sought.

The address in reply to His Excellency's speech was moved by Mr. Moss (afterwards Chief Justice Moss of

Ontario), and seconded by Mr. Wilfrid Laurier (now the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, premier of Canada at the time of writing). Sir John Macdonald offered the usual comments upon the efforts of Messrs. Moss and Laurier, and was followed by Mr. Mackenzie.

Louis Riel, as before stated, had been elected for Provencher, Manitoba, and visited the capital secretly, thereupon Mr. Bowell (now Sir Mackenzie Bowell), moved that Attorney-General Clark of Manitoba, who chanced to be at the capital, be requested to attend at the bar of the House to testify to the signature of Riel upon the roll of members. Attorney-General Scott also stated that a true bill for the murder of Thomas Scott had been found against Riel by a Manitoba Court, and a warrant issued for his arrest; that he had fled the province, and steps had been taken to declare him an outlaw.

Mr. Bowell then moved that Louis Riel attend his place upon the following day. The order not being obeyed, Riel, as a fugitive from justice, was expelled from the House by a vote of 124 to 68. Riel was re-elected in Provencher, but never made his appearance again at Ottawa. It was rumored that his chief hiding place was in the Beauport Asylum, near Quebec, where he was reported to have resided for nineteen months under an assumed name. Unfortunately Riel's mischief did not end here, as will be seen later on.

Mr. Cartwright delivered his budget speech about the middle of April, the first under the auspices of the Mackenzie administration, and attracted much comment. Mr. Cartwright regretted that the prodigality

of his predecessors, had incurred much greater obligations than the normal revenue would warrant; also, owing to the new obligations incurred by the recent admission of Prince Edward Island, it became necessary to raise a larger revenue by about three millions, if possible. He was therefore compelled to resort to some extra taxation by increasing the customs duties upon manufactured goods to the extent of from 2 1-2 to 5 per cent. additional, and a large advance in the excise duties upon spirits and tobacco, also a duty averaging about five cents per pound upon tea and coffee—a most unpopular tax—raw materials were but lightly touched.

Dr. Tupper severely criticised the proposed increase as being both unnecessary and injudicious. Mr. Mackenzie introduced his transcontinental railway measure—the line to run from a point south of Lake Nipissing to a harbor on the Pacific Ocean. Power was taken to subsidize contractors with $10,000 per mile, and alternate blocks of land of twenty-five square miles were to be set apart to pay for the road, the land to be sold by the government; also power to borrow $35,000,000, to be expended in the construction of the work. Certain water stretches were to be utilized both for transportation and construction purposes during the building of the main line—the railway to be the property of Canada when finished.

Mr. George Brown was called to the Senate this year, and was also appointed a commissioner to Washington to attempt the securing of a Reciprocity Treaty. He met with some encouragement at first, but it finally ended in failure, like all the late negotiations. Mr. Brown was, moreover, not a man to cringe

unduly to the government of any foreign country for favors.

The premier, ever unsparing of his physical energies, dispensed with the services of the intercolonial commissioners who had charge of the construction of that great highway, and added the duties to his own already heavily-taxed department.

An Act was passed to amend the Extradition Treaty with the United States. Altogether one hundred and eighteen bills were passed during the session, and parliament prorogued on the 26th of May.

Their Excellencies the Earl and Countess of Dufferin made a happy and successful tour of Ontario during the summer. His Excellency's eloquent, felicitous and patriotic speeches created unbounded enthusiasm among a highly delighted people, which did not abate during his term of office.

The premier now further exemplified his utter disregard for his own advantages by sparing, for the good of the bench in Quebec, his right hand man from that province in the person of Mr. A. A. Dorion, afterwards Chief Justice Sir Antoine Dorion, one of the ablest, cleanest and most patriotic statesmen who ever sat in parliament. Mr. Mackenzie did not then probably fully realize the loss incurred from a party standpoint in parting with such a lieutenant.

The government was now confronted with an embarrassing racial question over the conviction for murder, with a death sentence, passed upon Lepine for his participation in the killing of Thomas Scott. To reprieve the sentence would raise a howl among the English-speaking people, and to carry out the death sentence would raise an opposite furore among

the French-speaking people. The government escaped from the dilemma through the good offices of His Excellency by relegating the case to the Imperial parliament, by whom the death sentence was commuted to two years more in jail, from the date of the conviction, the offence having been committed before Canada got possession of the North-West Territories. The *coup* was severely commented upon by the Opposition, as not only an irregular, but a cowardly and unconstitutional step. They were disappointed that the government had not been as greatly embarrassed as they had anticipated.

Parliament met again early in February. His Excellency congratulated the House upon the organization of the very efficient North-West Mounted Police force; upon the treaty with the Cree and Salteaux Indians, and upon the gratifying progress of the transcontinental railway survey.

The address in reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. Louis Frechette, the eminent poet, member for Levis, and seconded by Mr. Colin Macdougall, of East Elgin, and commented upon by Sir John Macdonald and the premier.

These preliminaries being over, the premier moved that a pardon be granted to all participants in the North-West troubles except Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue, who were to be banished from the Dominion for five years. The motion was followed up by the formal expulsion of Riel from the House and the issue of a writ for a new election in Provencher.

Meantime the people of British Columbia were naturally clamorous over the seeming slow progress

which was being made in connection with the construction of the transcontinental railway, that being one of the very important items in the terms of the union. The premier was personally anxious to do all in his power to expedite the railway undertaking as rapidly as could be reasonably expected, but many of his supporters were openly indifferent about the said terms, thereby causing widespread threatenings and protestations on the part of British Columbia.

The Imperial government now interposed by way of mediation with a suggestion or compromise that the Dominion government should at once construct a line of railway from Esquimalt to the Nanaimo coal fields, a distance of 160 miles, and also expend at least two million dollars annually on the British Columbia end of the main line, in addition to the expenditure upon the construction of the eastern portion of the railway, and the whole line to be completed within fifteen years. This was better known as the Carnarvon terms.

The premier introduced a bill to give effect to the above-mentioned proposals, which encountered considerable opposition even from Mr. Blake and a few other Liberals in the House. The bill received its third reading in the Commons by a majority of but twenty-seven, which included the vote of Sir John A. Macdonald. The bill was, however, unpatriotically defeated in the Senate by the small majority of two votes. It has been alleged that the majority in the Senate was actuated by a party spirit in killing the commendable measure, which had been suggested by the Imperial government.

The people of British Columbia were greatly ex-

asperated over the bad turn of affairs, and poured out vials of wrath upon the heads of the government, although their disappointment was entirely due to the action of their professed friends in the Senate. The government then offered the Province of British Columbia a grant of $750,000 as a consolation for the unavoidable failure to construct the Esquimalt and Nanaimo line, which was indignantly refused.

Mr. Cartwright introduced his budget in a very thorough and elaborate review of the financial condition of the country, past and present. Dr. Tupper answered the budget speech in his usual lengthy style, during which he complimented Mr. Cartwright upon his improved tone and less bumptious style.

The Supreme Court Act became law during the session, and was organized and established at Ottawa in due course with the eminent jurist William Buell Richards as chief justice.

The North-West Territories were organized with a government under a lieutenant-governor and five councillors, three of whom were to discharge the duties of stipendiary magistrates.

The system of voting by secret ballot had in the meantime been established by the government.

Parliament prorogued in April. Mr. Blake accepted, during the recess, the vacant portfolio of minister of justice, lately held by Mr. Dorion, and for which he was eminently qualified. The transcontinental surveys were now almost completed, and the construction of the Port Arthur and Winnipeg section of the railway was begun.

Parliament assembled again in February of 1876. His Excellency referred to the general depression of

trade which was prevalent in both the old and new worlds.

The near completion of the Intercolonial Railway was mentioned, and also that an earnest effort was being made to obtain a settlement from the United States for the privilege of fishing in Canadian waters. The reply to the speech from the throne was moved and seconded by Messrs. Casey and Taschereau, and commented upon by Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Mackenzie.

The complaint of British Columbia over the non-fulfilment of the union terms was ventilated by Mr. de Cosmos, one of the prominent members from that province, in a most exhaustive and fiery speech. The home government again interposed and counselled patience.

Better terms were granted Manitoba in the shape of $26,746 per annum for six or seven years.

Mr. Cartwright announced a small surplus in his budget speech. The session on the whole was rather a dull one owing to the stagnation of trade.

The Opposition had not yet adopted an election rallying cry upon which to go to the country; but in two years hence they were, however, much encouraged by some successes at the several bye-elections which had been held from time to time. The government, as usual in all such cases, was held directly responsible for the bad times.

Their Excellencies visited British Columbia during the recess, and were accorded a royal reception wherever they called, and did much to allay the impatience of the people of that province over the dilatory conduct of the government in the matter of the

fulfilment of the terms of union. Their Excellencies were greatly pleased with the people and felt much interested in the province generally.

The display at the Centennial Exhibition this year, under the auspices of the government, was a great success. The Canadian exhibits, and the winning of numerous prizes, attracted much attention, thereby making Canada and her resources much better known throughout the world than hitherto.

Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris and his two assistant Indian commissioners did good service to their country among the Indian tribes this year by effecting a most amicable treaty at Forts Carleton and Pitt, for the surrender of 200,000 square miles of land in the fertile belt, and in otherwise impressing upon the Indians a knowledge of the kind disposition and integrity towards them by the government of Canada. His Honor and assistants were gorgeously arrayed for the occasion in scarlet and blue uniforms trimmed with gold lace, together with a bountiful supply of presents, which tended to evoke the admiration and good humor of the assembled aborigines, who no doubt had some previous knowledge as well, by reports, of His Honor's characteristic integrity and goodness of heart.

Parliament met again on the 8th February, 1877. In the speech from the throne His Excellency alluded, among other matters, to his pleasant visit to British Columbia; to the success of the Canadian exhibit at the Centennial Exhibition held at Philadelphia during the previous summer, and also to the opening of the Intercolonial Railway for traffic.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved

by Mr. D. Guthrie, and seconded by Mr. F. Bechard, and commented upon by Sir John Macdonald and the premier.

Mr. Cartwright's budget speech this session showed a deficiency in the revenue of about $2,000,000; about half a million dollars of the shortage was represented in the loss upon working expenses of the government railway which was a new charge thrown upon the present administration. Mr. Cartwright, however, attributed the chief loss of revenue to the continued depression of trade, particularly to that so severely felt in the neighboring Republic, the effect of which injured the trade of Canada in a variety of ways. He proposed some changes in the tariff, which he expected would produce an increase of revenue by about half a million dollars. This, by the exercise of strict economy, would, he hoped, restore the equilibrium between receipts and expenditure.

The Opposition, in like manner to all other party managers, took advantage of the hard times to make political capital for their party. The worst feature of all these kind of tactics is that the standing of the country is injured by the over-zealous and repeated heralding of business failures and of the exaggeration of the existing depression.

Dr. Tupper replied to Mr. Cartwright's budget speech. In his opening remarks sympathy was expressed with the country over the critical condition of trade, after which he launched out an arraignment of the government for bringing about the depression. He satirically remarked that the Reform government had reformed everything ("deformed them," Sir John wittily interpolated), soup kitchens and all.

The government were beginning to lose nearly every seat at any bye-election which occurred owing to the outcry of "blue ruin" so industriously circulated by the Opposition press and politicians, for which the government was persistently blamed.

The astute leader of the Opposition began to gain heart once more over the government's ill-luck, and was soon again in his old element. He moved an amendment to Mr. Cartwright's financial resolution, in which it was declared that taxation was being increased without any compensation to the country's interests and that the tariff should be so adjusted as to benefit the agricultural, mining and manufacturing interests. This catchy resolution was the forerunner of the celebrated appeal for a National Policy, and which proved to be a political bonanza for the Opposition in the following year.

Mr. de Cosmos again gave trouble during the session over the alleged slow progress of the construction of the transcontinental railway.

Mr. Blake, not feeling himself in robust health, resigned the portfolio of minister of justice, for which he was so eminently qualified, and became president of the council, a less onerous post. Gossip imputed to him sensitiveness over the criticism which was passed upon him while minister of justice for his too great leniency and tender-heartedness in pardoning criminals; but no instance has been recorded where justice had been defeated under Mr. Blake's administration. No doubt all ministers of justice must at times feel it to be a painful duty to have the extreme penalty of the law carried out in the face of piteous appeals for mercy and of other extenuating circumstances.

Mr. Laflamme succeeded Mr. Blake as minister of justice, and was rather a disappointment as compared with his predecessors.

The arbitration with the United States upon the fishery question resulted in an award in favor of Canada of $5,500,000, payable in gold. Thus for the first time the Americans did not get the advantage of Canada in arbitrations and treaties. The Canadian side of the question was ably presented by the minister of marine and fisheries, Mr. A. J. Smith, assisted by Mr. L. H. Davies, of Prince Edward Island. Mr. Smith shortly afterwards received the honor of knighthood, as did Mr. Davies some years later.

Mr. Cauchon resigned the portfolio of inland revenue to become lieutenant-governor of Manitoba, in succession to Mr. Morris, whose tenure of office had expired. Mr. Laurier succeeded to the vacant portfolio of inland revenue, but was most ungraciously rejected by his constituency of Drummond and Arthabaska on appealing for re-election, owing to the hostile feeling which had been worked up against the government over the protracted depression of trade. Mr. Laurier, however, promptly found a seat in East Quebec, which he still continues to represent.

His Excellency visited the North-West during the summer and deservedly received an ovation at all points visited.

The cabinet ministers held a series of public meetings throughout the country during the recess, which were fairly successful and which temporarily buoyed up the spirits of the administration with false hopes that the country was still with them.

The leader of the Opposition also held a series of enthusiastic public meetings. The cloud under which

Sir John A. Macdonald had been resting over the Pacific scandal now began to show signs of lifting; he was once more cordially welcomed at public gatherings. Sir John, therefore, began to value the truthfulness of his own facetious remark, that "electors have short memories and carry their principles in their pockets."

Mr. Mackenzie, the premier, on the other hand, in the simplicity of his heart, never dreamed that the electorate would so soon condone the offences of his antagonist, and was content to honestly pursue the even tenor of his way without ever once trimming his sails to the rising breeze by propitiating the manufacturers with a moderate increase of customs duties upon imports, manufactures, and also upon certain farm products, particularly as more revenue was actually required for the public service of the country. The manufacturers would have been satisfied with a smaller increase of duties at the hands of the present administration than from his opponents under similar conditions, but it is said that both Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Cartwright turned a deaf ear rather curtly to the importunities of the manufacturers. Mr. Mackenzie also alienated many public contractors by his strict business methods in refusing to allow certain unauthorized extras, which was expected by them, consequently these contractors instead of assisting the government at the elections subscribed liberally in some cases to defeat their candidates, and when a change of government came about the said claims certainly received tangible consideration at the hands of the incoming government, as the public accounts will show.

On the other hand, Sir John A. Macdonald, as before stated, was once more gradually gliding into his wonted element; his witty, amiable and magnetic demeanor began to shine with its pristine brightness and everything now seemed to be coming his way—much earlier than he ever anticipated. These prospects inspired his party with such a measure of courage and hope that it became more and more aggressive, and proceeded to take advantage of the strongest provision of the comparatively new election law, by proceeding against several Liberal members of the House for a violation of the Independence of Parliament Act. The Speaker, being a newspaper man, some printing for the postoffice department in New Brunswick was done through his office, which lost him his seat. Messrs. Vail and Jones were unseated in the same way. Mr. Vail was minister of militia and defence, and suffered defeat at the bye-election. The Speaker and Mr. Jones were re-elected; the latter succeeded Mr. Vail as minister of militia and defence.

Mr. Blake withdrew permanently from a cabinet position which he probably found to be too irksome in his then nervous condition of health.

It being apparent that Americans were unduly dumping their surplus goods upon the Canadian markets, some sincere friends of the government, especially of the manufacturing classes were now strongly urging the government to increase the duties upon imported manufactures, upon the very reasonable and truthful grounds that a larger revenue was required, and which would at the same time afford Canadian manufacturers a larger measure of incidental protection. It was felt and hoped by many

friends of the government that this request would be acceded to. The government, however, listened to other councils, it is said, from friends in the Maritime Provinces, and arrived at the fatal decision to ignore the wishes of the manufacturers, the majority of whom reluctantly felt compelled to withdraw their support from the government. The cupidity of farmers was also appealed to with much success.

A Depression of Trade Committee, under Mr. Mills' chairmanship, had been holding sittings and taking the evidence of many interested parties. Some facts quite favorable to the Mackenzie-Cartwright policy were elicited, but as trade all over the continent had been getting worse, Mr. Mills' favorable deduction had not apparently the slightest weight with the electors at the polls in the following year.

Hence arose Sir John A. Macdonald's supreme opportunity of once more attaining power. He being an opportunist rather than an avowed protectionist, readily bowed to the wishes of the party managers and popular clamor without coming out squarely as a protectionist, as to do so would have been fatal to his chances in the Maritime Provinces. He simply proposed, he said, to readjust the tariff for the advantage of all classes, and actually denied by a public wire to Mr. Boyd, of St. John, N.B., that it was proposed to increase the rate of customs duties, but merely to readjust them.

Mr. Laurier delivered a very able address upon Liberalism during the recess, in Quebec, which attracted much attention. The trend of his address was to come to some better understanding if possible with the hierarchy, which, however, did not immediately bear fruit.

Parliament assembled again on the 7th of February, 1878—the last session of the third parliament and also of the Mackenzie regime. Mr. Anglin was again proposed by Mr. Mackenzie for the Speakership after his enforced appeal to his constituents for re-election during the recess. Sir John A. Macdonald opposed the motion on the ground of irregularity, and at the same time mentioned that all Canadian governments were following a wrong usage in having the Speaker proposed by a member of the government. A sharp debate of a constitutional nature arose and a division took place, resulting in Mr. Anglin's election as Speaker by a large majority.

The speech from the throne referred to the success of the Canadian exhibit at the Sydney, New South Wales, Exhibition, and to the preparations going forward for the Paris Exposition; to the abundant harvest of the previous summer, and to the Canada Temperance Act, familiarly known as the "Scott Act."

The reply to the address was moved by Dr. St. George and seconded by Mr. Charlton, and commented upon by Sir John Macdonald and the premier.

Mr. Masson, the highly respected member for Terrebonne, made the cynical but truthful remark that the government had not been able for some time to elect a new member from the Province of Quebec to move the address, although several bye-elections had taken place in that province. A Conservative reaction, he said, was sweeping over the Province of Quebec.

The debate upon the address lasted for a week, but no amendment was proposed.

Sir John A. Macdonald followed the mover and

seconder of the address in a courteous manner applicable to the two gentlemen, who acquitted themselves creditably in the usual routine as mover and seconder. He then freely criticised the government for alleged errors of omission and commission.

A serious constitutional crisis arose in Quebec early in March over the dismissal of the Boucherville Conservative administration by Lieutenant-Governor Letelier. The latter justified his high-handed action partly upon the voluntary confession of Premier Boucherville himself, that he was controlled by rings, and therefore could not effect reasonable economy in the administration, and partly for the reason that he was ignored and treated contemptuously by members of the government in not following the constitutional practice of first conferring with His Honor over intended legislation, the issue of proclamations bearing His Honor's name, and also about money appropriations. It must be stated, on the other hand, that the Boucherville government possessed the confidence of a considerable majority of members in the House, and Mr. Boucherville was personally a man of integrity. He was not, however, a member of the popular body, his seat being in the Legislative Council, and therefore had not the fullest opportunity of watching his more wicked partners.

His Honor called upon Mr. Joly, the leader of the Opposition, to form a government, which he accomplished. The Assembly was then dissolved. The lieutenant-governor's action was sustained at the polls by the small majority of one, which, however, was a striking revulsion from the former representation.

These unusual proceedings gave rise to prolonged and bitter discussion, both in the House of Commons and throughout the country. Constitutional authorities were probably never more freely quoted than at this juncture.

Upon the government's motion for the House to go into supply on the 11th of April, Sir John A. Macdonald moved in amendment that it be resolved that the recent dismissal by the lieutenant-governor of Quebec of his ministers was under the circumstances unwise and subservient of the position accorded to the advisers of the Crown since the concession of the principle of responsible government to the British North American colonies.

The mover of the resolutions quoted many precedents from other colonies in support of his contention.

The premier, Mr. Mackenzie, replied, and also quoted authorities; his chief contention, however, was that the House of Commons should not meddle with the matter; that it was now in the hands of the electors of Quebec to be disposed of, and that the Joly administration assumed full responsibility for the lieutenant-governor's conduct. Several other members discussed the question at length, and after a sitting of twenty-four consecutive hours it was decided for the present, by a vote of 112 to 70, to express no opinion upon the Quebec crisis.

Mr. Mackenzie made his annual statement upon the progress of the transcontinental railway in a most exhaustive and thorough manner. He reported that the stupendous task of making the surveys of all the proposed routes was now completed; that forty-

seven thousand miles were surveyed. Forty lives were lost during the making of the surveys, the cost of which had been nearly four millions of dollars. The *pros* and *cons* of each route were clearly set forth by the speaker.

Mr. Mackenzie recommended a route which, it is claimed, would be shorter and of easier grade than the route subsequently adopted by the strong, efficient and successful syndicate, of which due notice will be taken further on.

The letting of nearly thirty important contracts for the construction of portions of the transcontinental railway was reported by Mr. Mackenzie.

These explanations and assurances did not, however, appease the impatience of the people of British Columbia, who still characterized the action of the government as procrastinating in the extreme and threatened to attempt secession from the union unless more vigorous steps were taken for the early completion of the road.

Mr. Cartwright delivered his budget speech on the 22nd of February in an exhaustive and lucid manner. Dr. Tupper replied at considerable length, and Sir John A. Macdonald moved an amendment on March 7th.

The severe depression of trade being still prevalent, the government were most unmercifully and unjustly assailed by the Opposition press, in pamphlets, and by noisy speakers, who were thereby gaining daily accessions from the ranks of the Liberals, especially of the manufacturing class, who in turn aided in extending the propaganda to the rural districts.

Mr. Mackenzie, although a strictly honest, able, kind and amiable man in both public and private life,

was entirely unlike most successful party leaders, being no opportunist. He never made the strengthening of the party his chief consideration; but, regardless of consequences, he rather prided himself upon a rigid adherence to what he deemed principle and consistency, rather than to play to the galleries.

As Lord Dufferin's term as governor-general was drawing to a close, a joint complimentary farewell address by the Senate and House of Commons was deservedly voted to His Excellency.

Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of May. The government would probably have fared better had they asked for an early dissolution of the House instead of waiting until the 17th of August. The date for polling was fixed for the 17th of September, to be by ballot (for the first time at a general election in Canada), and which proved to be a Waterloo for the Mackenzie administration.

A government which emerged from the general election of October of 1874 with an overwhelming majority was now just as signally defeated in 1878, as their opponents had been four and a half years previously. Several members of the government were defeated, and never made their appearance in parliament again.

The Mackenzie administration resigned three days before the departure of Lord Dufferin in October.

His Excellency promptly entrusted Sir John A. Macdonald with the formation of a cabinet, which was accomplished without delay, with the exception of Mr. Masson, who was absent from Canada at the time and who, moreover, had no great liking for a cabinet position. Mr. Masson's high character was a tower of strength to the *Bleus*. Sir John, therefore, acted

wisely in reserving a portfolio for Mr. Masson's return.

The new ministry was comprised of Sir John A. Macdonald, Mr. Tilley, Dr. Tupper, Mr. Langevin, Mr. Aikens, Mr. J. H. Pope, Mr. J. C. Pope, Mr. James Macdonald, Mr. Bowell, Mr. Baby, Mr. Masson, Mr. John O'Connor, and Mr. R. D. Wilmot, Speaker of the Senate.

Government of the Marquis of Lorne.

The people of Canada were feeling somewhat elated over the reported selection of the Marquis of Lorne, husband of Her Royal Highness Princess Louise, a daughter of Her Gracious Majesty, as governor-general of Canada. The distinguished personages arrived in Canada in the following month, and were welcomed everywhere by an enthusiastic and loyal people.

Parliament did not meet as early as was anticipated, to afford the promised immediate relief from the depression to the suffering people of Canada. It, however, finally met on February 15th, 1879. Dr. Blanchet was elected Speaker. His Excellency the Marquis of Lorne, in the speech from the throne, expressed his gratification at being appointed to so high and important an office, and thanked the people for the loyal, generous and kindly manner in which Her Royal Highness and himself had been welcomed.

A vigorous prosecution of the transcontinental railway was promised, also the long-expected readjustment of the tariff. The reply to the speech from

the throne was moved by Mr. Brecken, and seconded by Mr. Tasse, and commented upon by Mr. Mackenzie, the premier, and others. Mr. Mousseau lost no time in introducing a motion to condemn the conduct of Lieutenant-Governor Letelier, of Quebec, for the dismissal of the Boucherville government. After a long debate the motion was carried upon a division. Following up the decision of the House the Premier, presumably under strong pressure from the Quebec *Bleus,* announced that the government had advised the dismissal of the lieutenant-governor upon the simple ground that his usefulness was gone.

His Excellency, however, did not relish these vindictive proceedings, and demurred about giving his sanction, and consequently took the advice of the home government upon the question. He was advised by that tribunal that the Dominion government had power under the 59th section of the British North America Act for the dismissal.

It is worthy of remark that the premier's contention in the above-mentioned controversy did not satisfy every member of his most loyal supporters, the exceptions taken were by such able lawyers and parliamentarians as Mr. Cockburn, of West Northumberland, and Mr. Ouimet, of Laval, who expressed dissent from some of the points advanced by their leader.

His Excellency now reluctantly yielded to the relentless clamor for the lieutenant-governor's dismissal.

The disgraced official, the Honorable Luc Letelier de St. Just, was a well-informed, able man of commanding presence and of kindly but, at the same

time, of a headstrong disposition. His bold *coup* in dismissing the Boucherville administration, though held by some fairly good authorities to be constitutional, was open to criticism, and was rather disapproved of by many of his own political friends. It must, however, be admitted that the desire under the circumstances would be naturally strong, to end even in an arbitrary way the financial prodigality of the *Bleus,* whose career for the previous ten years had been one of extravagance or worse, during which the province had piled up a huge debt in contrast to the sister province of Ontario, which was then not only free from debt, but also possessed a large surplus, both provinces having an equal start at confederation. The dismissal told heavily on the health of the chivalrous and grand old man, who did not long survive the painful humiliation to which his proud and unyielding nature was subjected.

Mr. Tilley delivered the long-looked-for budget speech on the 14th of March, during which the famous National Policy was launched. The speaker depicted the ruin and disaster which had overtaken the country under the previous government. The proposed new tariff provided a large increase over the former one, arranged chiefly in the interest of the manufacturing classes; but a duty was also imposed upon agricultural products. But as Canada produced a surplus of food for export, no advantage was conferred upon the farmers save in a few isolated cases, otherwise the general market price of farm produce could not be regulated by the imposition of duties. Most people were, however, anxious for a change of some kind after the long period of depression. Mr. Tilley's measure therefore gave heart to the manufac-

turers and to many other classes as well, even although the business of the country did not revive for a considerable time afterwards. Mr. Cartwright criticised the budget speech in an exhaustive manner. The finance minister, in the course of his address, remarked incidentally that the forest products, unlike coal and manufactures, was a waning industry. This gave rise to an interesting speech from Mr. A. P. Cockburn on the other side of the question, which will be found in Hansard of 1879, page 647.

The first year's volume of trade under the National Policy of 1879 happened to be actually the smallest of any of the previous nine years, and the price of farm produce was actually lower than it had been. Sir John Macdonald facetiously explained away this temporary disappointment in one of his characteristic epigrams.

The somewhat high tariff now adopted was naturally looked upon with disfavor in the free trade Mother Country, but it was of course a question with which they could not meddle.

Dr. Tupper, the minister of public works, announced the government railway policy on the 10th of May, the most important feature of which was the proposal to set apart 100,000,000 acres of land, to be vested in a commission, and to be sold at not less than $2 per acre. Other details were dwelt upon at length.

Mr. ex-Premier Mackenzie, the former minister of public works, disapproved, among other things, of the proposed policy of charging $2 per acre for the land to actual settlers, which he said would be inimical to actual settlement, as good land was being given to actual settlers for nothing in the United States.

Mr. Plumb interpolated with the question, " Where

have they any unoccupied land for settlement in the United States?" Mr. Mackenzie replied, "In Texas, the Indian Territory, and elsewhere." His simple statement of fact was wickedly distorted and exaggerated by his opponents into an unpatriotic recommendation of American lands in preference to those of Canada. The false accusation was made to do duty in the party warfare continually going on in the press and upon the platform.

An enlightened and humane Indian policy was adopted during the session, and several useful bills of a commonplace nature were passed. Parliament prorogued on the 15th of May.

The premier visited the Mother Country during the recess, and was sworn in as a member of the Imperial Privy Council, which entitled him to the prefix of Right Honorable, instead of simply Honorable, as heretofore.

His Excellency and Her Royal Highness visited the cities of Quebec and Toronto, where they received the heartiest and most enthusiastic of welcomes.

Some changes of an unimportant character took place in the cabinet during the recess.

Parliament met on the 12th February, 1880. The speech from the throne alluded to the benefit derived from the National Policy and to the progress of the transcontinental railway. Some legislation for civil service reform, improvement in the Mounted Police force, in the public works department, and in the banking and insolvency laws was promised.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. Richey and seconded by Mr. Houde. Mr. Mackenzie followed with a few complimentary words

for the mover and seconder of the address, but designated the government's bill of fare as meagre. A member interposed the remark, "that it was the season of Lent." "Yes," remarked Mr. Mackenzie, "and it is a Lenten bill-of-fare, and they might well thank Providence for a bountiful harvest, as otherwise the country would be in a state of paralysis."

Mr. Tilley delivered his budget speech in his usual able and acceptable manner on the 9th of March. He informed the House that the revenue had increased and that the depression of trade was rapidly passing away. Changes in the tariff were announced upon many small articles.

Mr. Cartwright followed in one of his slashing and exhaustive speeches, probing all the weak points in Mr. Tilley's armor.

Dr. Tupper then rose to demolish Mr. Cartwright's arguments and deductions in a most vigorous speech, making some very strong assertions regarding the antecedents of his adversary, applying the epithet "renegade Tory."

Mr. Mackenzie, at the close of an exhaustive address, copiously interspersed with constitutional matter, moved a censure upon the government for the unconstitutional dismissal of the late lieutenant-governor of Quebec upon the flimsy pledge that his usefulness was gone. A brisk debate ensued thereon, but the motion was voted down by the usual government majority.

Dr. Tupper made his annual railway statement on the 15th or April. His professed expectations in the way of cash receipts from land sales, progress of settlement, and the phenomenal production of grain in

the prairie country within the following ten years were considered most optimistic, if not absurd.

The normal issue of government notes for bank and general circulation was now increased from twelve million to twenty million dollars this year. This bold step was criticised by the Opposition as being an inflation of currency; but no evil effects have resulted from the transaction, while it gave the government the timely use of eight millions of dollars.

A commendable bill was passed to create a resident high commissioner to represent Canada in Great Britain. Sir Alexander Galt, a very suitable gentleman, was appointed high commissioner. One hundred thousand dollars was voted to the relief fund of the then prevalent Irish famine.

The members from the Maritime Provinces of both political parties set up a determined claim, on behalf of their respective provinces, for the whole of the five and a half million dollars, being the total amount of the fishery award, coming from the United States government, as compensation, they alleged, for the partial destruction of their fisheries by American fishermen. The claim was forced to a vote of the House, but was very properly defeated, as no government under the present responsible system could allow such sectional matters, however worthy of consideration, to be dealt with in that way.

There had been no election of a leader for the Liberal opposition since Mr. Mackenzie was elected to that position in 1873. Mr. Mackenzie had, however, been ably discharging that duty since he surrendered the seals of office in the fall of 1878; it came to Mr. Mackenzie's knowledge, however, that there was

a desire, which it is said had its origin in Toronto, upon the part of some members of his party to have a younger and more physically able member than Mr. Mackenzie appointed to the leadership; but he was neither deposed nor asked to resign, as reported in some quarters. He, however, with characteristic sensibility voluntarily announced his resignation as leader of the Opposition to the House while it was in session, whereupon Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Tilley spoke most sympathetically upon the event, paying a just tribute to Mr. Mackenzie's ability and zeal. It was a most pathetic incident. We are reminded that a somewhat parallel experience to that of Mr. Mackenzie's case transpired in the Conservative camp some twenty-four years previously, in which Sir Allan McNab and Mr. John A. Macdonald were prominently concerned over a change in the leadership of that party. Another somewhat similar incident in the annals of the same party occurred in 1895, to which reference will be made later on.

The leader of a great political party occupies a post of great responsibility, and is liable to have the searchlight of criticism turned upon him in season and out of season, more particularly if the political tide does not chance to be running with him.

The Liberal party have, with some reason, been severely chided for the alleged base ingratitude to such a leader as Mr. Mackenzie, who had served both his country and his party so ably and faithfully. It was certainly an unkind turn of affairs for even a few of his supporters to wound his feelings in any way so soon after his great disappointment of 1878. Mr. Mackenzie doubtless felt the irony of fate most

keenly, even although he was conscious that his former colleagues and other outside friends like Mr. Holton had no part in any desire for a change of leadership. He was also aware that he personally possessed the confidence and good-will of the whole party to which he belonged.

A leader had now to be chosen, and the choice fell upon Mr. Blake, who reluctantly accepted the thankless and arduous, but necessary position. The House prorogued on the 9th of May. Two days later the sorrowful news of the death of the Hon. Senator George Brown, founder and head of the Toronto *Globe* newspaper, filled the entire community with sadness. Mr. Brown's greatness now began to be realized, even by people who were not in political accord with him. He was a man of indomitable will but withal of most kindly disposition to all deserving persons. He might be deemed to be somewhat impatient for the earlier accomplishment of sound reforms, a course which sometimes embarrassed his own friends and helped his adversaries unintentionally. It must, however, be acknowledged that he invariably contended for good measures and principles. In private life his was of a most exemplary character.

Some deplorable ship labor riots took place at Quebec in which the troops unfortunately had to be called out to suppress.

The premier made the announcement at a picnic, held in Lennox county about the end of June, that the government had decided to discontinue the construction of the transcontinental railway as a public work, and purposed handing the undertaking over to a company. In pursuance of this the House was sum-

moned for the despatch of business at the unusually early period of December.

His Excellency's speech intimated that one of the chief objects of the session was for the purpose of ratifying an agreement which had been entered into for the construction of the transcontinental railway, with the afterwards famous and powerful syndicate, comprised of both Canadians and foreigners.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. Beaty and seconded by Mr. Vanasse, and commented upon by Mr. Blake and the premier. The terms of the contract were $25,000,000 in cash, 25,000,000 acres of land, together with all the work previously done, and under construction, amounting to nearly one thousand miles; all material to be free of duty, and the property also to be free from taxation for a lengthened period, which was certainly a most favorable agreement for the syndicate. It was, however, a vast undertaking and venture in which to embark.

The debate lasted for two weeks, when the House adjourned over the Christmas holidays and reassembled on the 4th of January.

Meantime another syndicate, comprised of strong financial men, was formed and made offers which would have saved the country $13,500,000 in money, besides other onerous conditions. The government, however, being committed to the original syndicate, could not honorably listen to any new proposals. The great enterprise, to be known hereafter as the Canadian Pacific Railway, was finally launched, legalized and assented to by His Excellency on the 15th of February, 1881.

The premier introduced and passed an ill-advised bill for the extension eastwards of the boundary of the Province of Manitoba, which caused much irritation in the Province of Ontario. Mr. Mowat, the premier of that province, appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council, and succeeded in having the Act set aside, but not before some wrangling and clashing had taken place, notably at the town of Rat Portage, where both provinces exercised jurisdiction temporarily at the same time. Parliament shortly afterwards prorogued.

The decennial census had been taken on the 4th of April, on the *de jure* system. The inhabitants were enumerated at the family homes. In this way a number of permanent absentees were counted in, the result, therefore, the enumeration was liable to be misleading. The census showed the population of the Dominion to be 4,324,810.

A general revival of trade was now taking place throughout the country, for which the National Policy was praised, even although the balance of trade continued to be against Canada, thus exploding the fallacious theory of would-be political economists that a country is always getting poorer when the balance of trade is against it, which certainly does not always follow.

During the summer His Excellency made a tour through the North-West up to the Rocky Mountains. He travelled 5,561 miles by railway, 1,366 miles by wagon on the prairies, and 1,127 miles by water. He was accompanied by an artist from a leading English illustrated paper, whose delineations with pencil and pen contributed materially to a more intelligent

knowledge of our vast and hitherto comparatively unexplored heritage. The energy and perseverance displayed by His Excellency in successfully carrying out so formidable an expedition, certainly conferred a valuable service upon Canada.

Parliament was summoned again for the 9th of February, 1882. His Excellency congratulated the country upon the era of great contentment and prosperity.

Public improvements such as railway and canal construction were progressing favorably, and a bountiful harvest had been reaped in the preceding autumn.

The address in reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. Bergeron and seconded by Mr. Guillett.

Mr. Blake followed, and after extending the usual felicitations to the mover and seconder, he, among other things, said that he was glad that the address attributed the great prosperity to the "Giver of all good," instead of to the finance minister. He congratulated the premier upon his restoration to health.

The premier followed Mr. Blake, making some good points in his usual happy vein, and thanked Mr. Blake for his kind observations regarding his health.

The estimates for the current fiscal year were laid before the House with satisfactory promptitude, after which the budget speech soon followed.

The finance minister claimed that at no former period had the country been so prosperous, or its credit so good, and that both results had been produced by the National Policy. The unpopular Bill Stamp Act, he informed the House, would now be repealed.

Mr. Cartwright replied to the finance minister at great length, repudiating emphatically the claim that the National Policy had created the good times. He asserted that any return of prosperity was only in sympathy with the revival of trade all over the world, and was also due in part to the abnormal expenditures of money in the construction of canals and other public works, and as to the surplus it was chiefly derived from a tax upon the breadstuffs and fuel of the people. He also pointed out an alleged serious defect in the sugar tariff.

A commission had been appointed to inquire into all the facts connected with Mr. Mackenzie's administration of the Canadian Pacific Railway while under his control. The evidence reported filled two large blue books. The finding was that the construction had been carried on in an expensive and loose manner, but no evidence of crookedness was discovered.

The notorious gerrymander measure of 1882 was introduced for the readjustment of the representation in the House of Commons consequent upon the decennial census enumeration of the year previous. Under the new apportionment Ontario was entitled to four additional seats. This afforded the government an opportunity for dishonest manipulation of a very large proportion of the constituencies in Ontario. The principle of maintaining county boundaries, observed in the gerrymander of 1872, was now thrown to the winds, and the most barefaced gerrymandering ever perpetrated now held high carnival at Ottawa. Liberal counties with two ridings were made into three ridings and so arranged, by borrowing a township or two from an adjoining county ruth-

lessly carved up, in order to return two Conservative members by moderate small majorities and one Liberal member by nearly one thousand majority. This was what Sir John remarked as "hiving the Grits." In one instance, at least, a township included in a riding was isolated fully ten miles from the nearest part of the riding, which claimed it. There was no justification whatever in disturbing boundaries. The four additional seats could have been merged into three of the largest constituencies, and one seat might have been given to the district of Nipissing, which was without representation for the next ten years.

The Opposition remonstrated in vain with all their might, by both speeches, amendments and votes, against the monstrous measure. The bill, however, became law. The government supporters seemed to satisfy their conscience by declaring that the Ontario Liberal government had pursued the same tactics for political and party advantages in that province.

A dissolution of the House followed the passing of this measure, although the usual parliamentary term had another year to run. The government gave as one reason for the holding of a premature election, that a number of intending capitalists were awaiting the certainty as to the permanency of the National Policy before investing in some proposed new factories. The result of the election gave the government a considerable majority. They, however, did not reap the full anticipated advantage of the gerrymander in the first election under it. A good many Conservative electors were ashamed of the Gerrymander Act of the government in this matter, and out of sympathy and feelings of fair play voted with the Liber-

als by way of protest. The consequence was that some heavily handicapped Liberals were elected in 1882, but at the subsequent election most of the Conservatives who supported the Liberals in 1882 drifted back into their old party lines, thereby assisting the government to reap nearly in full the unfair advantages of the gerrymander.

There is every probability that the gerrymander unfairly gave the government an extra nine years' lease of power, viz., from 1887 to 1896, seeing that Mr. Blake nearly carried the country in 1887, despite the loss of some gerrymandered seats at that election which he had previously carried. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to state that the gerrymander prevented Mr. Blake from attaining power at the said election.

The majority of members of both political parties in the House were mildly rebuked by the Imperial government for having voted an address proposed by Mr. Costigan requesting that government to grant Home Rule to Ireland, and also to liberate certain Irish state prisoners.

Each party in the Canadian Commons were apparently bidding for the Irish vote of this country, regardless of the risk of being politely told by the government and press of the Mother Country to mind their own business. Canadians could not very well feel offended at the merited snub.

The department of the interior committed a serious departmental blunder early in the spring in the authorization of some two hundred land company monopolies in the North-West. All sorts and conditions of men without capital organized companies in the greedy expectation of getting something for noth-

ing. The result was an injurious farce, as it is doubtful if any of these companies exist to-day. The scheme no doubt helped the government in the election in the old provinces, which followed shortly afterwards. Mr. Bunster, of British Columbia, introduced a resolution looking to better trade relations, etc., with the Hawaiian Islands. Sir John said he had been presented to the king of that country in England, and would give the matter attention. That country has, however, since been annexed to the United States.

Parliament prorogued on the 17th of May, after having passed more than one hundred public and private bills.

His Excellency visited British Columbia during the recess, and was greatly pleased with the resources of the country and the brightness of the people.

A great Conservative meeting took place in September at Toronto for the purpose of organizing an attack upon the Mowat government. Sir John A. Macdonald and two of his colleagues were present, and with questionable dignity pledged themselves to assist the Ontario Conservative Opposition in an endeavor to oust the Mowat government.

The new parliament met on the 8th of February, 1883. Mr. Kirkpatrick was elected Speaker, and on the following day His Excellency delivered the speech from the throne. He referred to his interesting visit to British Columbia, and to the progress of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The address in reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. C. H. Tupper, son of Dr. Tupper, and seconded by Mr. Josiah Wood.

Mr. Blake, after acknowledging the creditable efforts of the mover and seconder, found fault with many things. He warned the government against giving undue encouragement to over-trading and speculation, which if pursued in would be sure to bring about a most disastrous reaction. He twitted the government on having lost ground in Ontario, that its boasted majority of thirty-six in that province had been reduced to eighteen at the late election, despite the gerrymander. He said that the Gerrymander Act of the previous session was designed to suppress instead of express the views of the people.

Sir John replied to Mr. Blake, but it was remarked that he was less witty and more apologetic than usual. He may have felt some qualms of conscience over the gerrymander perpetrated by his committee who had that matter in hand, and who, Sir John probably felt, had gone pretty far in the way of taking unfair advantages.

The cabinet changes were explained on the 14th of the month, and the finance minister, now honored with knighthood, and to be hereafter designated Sir Leonard Tilley, delivered his annual budget speech. Boasting of continued prosperity under the benign influence of the National Policy, he announced a surplus of $6,316,000, the largest that had ever been in Canada up to that time. Sir Richard Cartwright being temporarily out of parliament, the criticism of the budget devolved upon Mr. William Paterson, who acquitted himself with credit.

Dr. Tupper (also honored by a knighthood, and to be hereafter addressed as Sir Charles Tupper) moved a series of resolutions providing for money grants to several railways. He also introduced a bill

to further amend the Consolidated Railway Act of 1879, in order to enable him to take control of certain local lines which had been chartered by the provincial governments. This aggressive step was denounced by the Opposition as an unwarrantable step to acquire more political influence. The government made a bold but unsuccessful attempt to control the tavern liquor licenses, causing much expense and confusion before making their humiliating retreat in the premises.

This being the last session of parliament under the regime of the Marquis of Lorne, a joint complimentary address was presented to His Excellency on the 26th of May, who made a very appropriate and feeling reply, declaring that the happiest hours of their lives were spent in Canada, a very reassuring statement, as it was apprehended that Her Royal Highness might not enjoy the more primitive and democratic condition of the surroundings in this comparatively new country in contrast to the environment of her royal home. Princess Louise is, however, a very womanly and practical person for one in her exalted station. She had, moreover, a good pattern to copy from in her wise, illustrious and beloved queen mother.

Their Excellencies did not leave Canada until the 27th of October, a few days after the arrival of His Excellency's successor, the Marquis of Lansdowne.

Government of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

The boundary dispute between the provinces of Ontario and Manitoba had been going on during the summer. The last-named province was aided and abetted in the struggle by the Dominion government,

but the first-named province was successful in all its contentions.

The new governor-general settled down quietly at Rideau Hall at Ottawa until after the Christmas holidays were over, after which he paid a visit to Toronto, Niagara Falls and Montreal. He was banquetted at Toronto, where he delivered a very able speech, which created an excellent impression not only in Toronto, but throughout the Dominion.

Parliament assembled on the 17th of January, 1884. Apart from some personal felicitations the tone of the speech from the throne was not so buoyant as at the two previous sessions. The late harvest was said not to have been so abundant as in previous years.

It was announced that 1,738 miles of the section of the Canadian Pacific Railway, west of Pembroke, was completed. The reply to the address was moved by Mr. MacMaster and seconded by Mr. Belleau.

Mr. Blake, after acknowledging the plausible manner in which the mover and seconder performed their respective tasks, said as to the speech itself it was quite as remarkable for what it omitted as for what it contained. He declared that the threatening depression arose entirely from extravagance and recklessness.

The premier cleverly replied that the people of the North-West would not hesitate a moment to choose between a high tariff with a surplus and the Canadian Pacific Railway, and free trade with an annual deficit and no railway. The construction of the railway, he stated, had given the people of Winnipeg coal at $7 per ton instead of $23 per ton, the former price.

Sir Alexander Galt resigned his position of high commissioner to Great Britain and was succeeded by Sir Charles Tupper, who still retained the portfolio of minister of railways and canals, attending the sessions of the House, but spending the recess in the Mother Country.

Mr. Blake denounced the system as being both illegal and improper, and also a gross violation of the independence of parliament, and moved for papers.

Sir John stated, in reply, that as there was no salary paid Sir Charles Tupper as high commissioner no infraction of the independence of parliament therefore resulted. Mr. Blake's motion for papers was therefore refused by a vote of 122 to 57. An appropriation was passed to test the feasibility of the navigation of Hudson Bay.

A very important question arose upon the application of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for a loan of $22,500,000 to enable them to complete the work, for which ample security was offered upon all the property and also upon $35,000,000 worth of stock of the company. The government were naturally most anxious to comply with the request, but were met at first by strong opposition from the Liberals, and also from a few Conservatives—not through lack of disposition to accommodate the company, but it was felt that the company had been investing a portion of its funds in outside transactions by purchasing and building lines of railways in the old settled parts of the country, which did not form part of the main line. The Grand Trunk Railway, in particular, complained with truth that the Canadian Pacific Railway was paralleling some its

lines. The loan was, however, granted despite all opposition. It is probable that a refusal of the loan would have seriously embarrassed the company at the time, and at any rate would have caused delay in the construction of the railway, which the government was most anxious to avoid. The loan has been honestly repaid, part in cash and part in the surrender of a portion of the land grant. The government was therefore to be commended for having relieved the threatened tension under the exceptional circumstances.

The finance minister made his annual statement on the 28th of January. A good surplus was announced. Considerable debating ensued as usual. The House prorogued on the 19th of April, after having passed one hundred and seventeen public and private bills, mainly of a common-place nature.

The Canada Temperance (Scott) Act was this year submitted to the electors in numerous counties, and was almost universally adopted by large majorities.

Canada during the year furnished about 400 men to the Imperial government for the Nile expedition, under the able command of the late Colonel F. C. Denison, M.P. The Imperial government expressed itself as highly pleased with the services of the contingent.

During the summer the respective party leaders held a series of public meetings for the edification of the electors, but from totally different standpoints, after which Sir John Macdonald, now at the zenith of his fame, visited Great Britain, where he was cordially welcomed, fêted and lionized by the highest dignitaries of the land.

Some overtures were made by the people of Jamaica and other West India islands for union with Canada, but it was not considered expedient at that time to take any very definite action.

The expediency of a federation of the Empire was mooted during the year, and an informal meeting was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, England, at which Mr. Mowat and Sir Charles Tupper were present, but nothing definite or practical was arrived at, further than to give the two distinguished Canadians of opposite politics an opportunity of truly and sincerely declaring the unalterable devotion of Canada to the Mother Country.

Parliament met on the 29th of January, 1885. The speech from the throne, prepared for His Excellency by his ministers, was a very meagre one indeed. The government were, no doubt, experiencing an anxious time over disturbing rumors from the North-West, and from the fact that the finances were not now in as flourishing condition as during the two previous years.

The address in reply to His Excellency's speech was moved by Mr. Taschereau and seconded by Mr. Townsend.

Mr. Blake followed in his usual style, criticising the government severely. Sir John parried his thrusts in his usual adroit manner. There were already rumors in the air of impending legislation likely to provoke a very lengthy and stubborn session.

Sir Leonard Tilley delivered his budget speech on February 2nd, which was replied to by Mr. Cartwright and others. Mr. A. P. Cockburn delivered quite an original speech upon that occasion, which attracted some attention.

Meanwhile the people of Canada were startled with news which fell "like a bolt from the blue," to the effect that the hair-brained Louis Riel had again disturbed the peace of the country by fomenting an insurrection among the half-breeds and Indians of the North-West, and that some government agents and white traders had already been massacred by these misguided savages.

The government prepared to send out a strong force as soon as possible to quell the insurrection. The military expedition was enabled to travel much the greater part of the way by rail save an intermediate unfinished section along the north shore of Lake Superior, which had to be journeyed in sleighs for a considerable distance, until the finished portions of the line beyond were again reached.

The insurrection was finally put down and Riel captured, but at a lamentable sacrifice of valuable lives and at a heavy outlay of money. The unfortunate outbreak and its consequences gave rise to many burning disputations. The Opposition contended that the remissness of the government in not dealing with the land claims of the half-breeds, and also in not exercising due precautions against the possibility of a rising, was responsible for the terrible occurrences which had happened.

The much criticised Franchise Act of 1885 was introduced by the government in April, and was debated and combatted by the Opposition until July. The bill provided, for the first time, a Dominion franchise and voters' list quite distinct from the provincial franchise and voters' list, which had been hitherto used. The qualification of voters was prac-

tically a manhood suffrage, including the enfranchisement for the first time of Indians, even of those who still continued to be minors and wards of the government. Some very slight modifications were made in the bill before it passed. The working of this unnecessary Act entailed very serious expense and dissatisfaction.

The cost of suppressing the rebellion in the North-West was eight million dollars. Twenty thousand dollars was voted to General Middleton for his services in the field, a doubtful proceeding in the opinion of many people, and a grant of 320 acres of land was made to every man in the force, which was well deserved.

Parliament was prorogued on the 20th of July, after a session of five months' duration.

Riel having been tried and convicted at Regina for the crime of high treason, speculation therefore ran rife as to whether the death sentence would be actually carried out. The government were accused by the Liberal press of being undecided as to which course would be most expedient. To carry out the sentence would raise a tremendous storm in the Province of Quebec, and to commute the sentence would cause a furore of indignation in the other provinces. Many Orange lodges had already adopted resolutions disapproving of a commutation of the death sentence. Medical men had been sent to examine Riel as to his sanity, some of whom were ready without any great sacrifice of conscience to report either way to suit the exigencies of the government, Riel being, at best, a peculiar character, upon the question of whose sanity public opinion was divided.

After balancing the chances the government evidently felt that the safest course for them politically to pursue would be to allow the full sentence of the court to be carried out, the French-speaking people not only being in a minority, but it was supposed that they could be sooner appeased than the Protestant Conservatives.

The execution of Riel under the circumstances was, as anticipated, a signal for a tremendous outburst of furious anger in the Province of Quebec, where it was felt that Riel had been sacrificed as an expediency, owing to his nationality and creed minority, to appease the Orange and ultra-Protestant and English-speaking element.

Sir John A. Macdonald being loudly execrated by the French-speaking population, hastily departed across the Atlantic until the storm in Quebec somewhat abated. On the other hand Sir John was loudly applauded by his own Protestant admirers for his alleged fidelity to justice and principle.

Mr. Blake, at a public meeting in the west, after Riel had been put to death, declared that he would not attempt to make any political capital out of the Regina scaffold.

Parliament met on the 25th of February, 1886. The speech from the throne was unusually brief. Congratulations were offered upon the virtual completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the restoration of peace, the consolidation of the statutes, etc.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. Everett, of New Brunswick, and seconded by Mr. Ward, of Ontario.

Mr. Blake, after congratulating the mover and seconder for having so gallantly gone through the

speech from the throne with so little hesitation, delivered a terrible arraignment of the government all along the line.

Sir John made a very able reply to Mr. Blake from the government standpoint. He said Mr. Blake seemed quite cheery over the idea that the country was not in a prosperous condition.

Among the new members this session was the eminent jurist, Mr. Thompson, of Nova Scotia, who assumed the important portfolio of minister of justice. Mr. McLellan became finance minister and Mr. Foster entered the government as minister of marine and fisheries.

Mr. Landry (now Senator Landry), a Conservative member from the Province of Quebec, moved, "That this House feels it its duty to express its deep regret that the death sentence passed upon Louis Riel, convicted of high treason, was allowed to be carried into execution."

The Opposition had been content to allow the matter to rest, but as the question was being forced upon the House, Mr. Blake called his followers together in caucus, where it was unanimously agreed to not make Mr. Landry's motion a party question; that each member was to vote to suit himself for or against the motion, or to abstain from voting altogether if he did not feel like voting either way.

Mr. McLellan delivered his first budget speech on the 29th of March, in which he announced a deficit of $2,240,058, thereby causing some dissatisfaction. Mr. Cartwright criticised the budget.

A deputy Speaker was appointed this year upon a verbal understanding that in future either the Speaker or deputy Speaker shall have a knowledge of both languages.

Parliament prorogued on the 2nd of June, after the usual routine in promoting some legislation, interspersed with the customary debate. Sir David McPherson and Sir Leonard Tilley retired from the government and Mr. McLellan had been appointed finance minister.

Mr. Blake delivered a highly patriotic and pro-Canadian speech in Edinburgh during the recess, which was greatly appreciated.

Chief Poundmaker, who had proved himself a most aggressive ally of Riel, had been confined in prison for the past year and a half, and was now set free, but feeling remorse so keenly over his cruel and rebellious conduct he died shortly afterwards of a broken heart. He declared that he was personally loth to rebel, but was overruled by the young men of the band.

The Canadian exhibits at Antwerp and the India and Colonial Exhibition in London were highly creditable.

Parliament was dissolved on the 15th of January, 1887, although the term had still another year to run. Polling was fixed for the 22nd of February, to be the first election under the new Franchise Act, by which the number of votes was greatly increased irrespective of the increase effected by the improper enfranchisement of dependent Indians.

The government was sustained despite Mr. Blake's gallant and clean fight, but by a greatly reduced majority, which, however, became larger as some members nominally classed as Liberals now supported the winning side, and ministerial gains were also made at the earlier bye-elections of the current year.

Parliament assembled on the 13th of April, 1887, and elected Mr. J. A. Ouimet as Speaker.

The speech from the throne congratulated the House upon the general prosperity of the country and of the prominent position taken by Canada at the Colonial and India Exhibition in London. He also alluded to the approaching fiftieth anniversary of Her Majesty's accession to the throne.

The reply to the address was moved by Mr. Porter and seconded by Mr. Weldon, of Albert, N.B., and commented upon by Mr. Blake and others. Mr. Blake took the premier to task for his alleged jingo speech in England during his recent visit, where he pledged the last Canadian and the last shilling for the defence of the Empire. Sir John explained that his speech had not warranted the construction which was placed upon it.

Mr. McLellan, the finance minister, having been appointed to the lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia, and Sir Charles Tupper having resigned the office of high commissioner in Great Britain to assume the portfolio of finance minister, delivered the budget speech on the 12th of May, which showed a deficit of nearly $6,000,000, caused doubtless, in part at least, by the cost of suppressing the North-West rebellion. To meet the deficiency some changes were made in the tariff, rendering it practically an all-round rate of thirty-five per cent.

The seal fishery question loomed up again at Washington, but through the good offices of that good American Mr. Bayard matters went smoothly in that behalf.

Mr. Abbott, who was solicitor-general in the Sandfield-Macdonald Liberal government of 1862, now entered the cabinet without portfolio. Parliament prorogued on the 23rd of June.

A conference of provincial premiers was held in Quebec during the recess to discuss the expediency of obtaining better terms from the Dominion government. It was surmised in political circles that Mr. Blake was already getting tired of the irksome and thankless position of being a party leader.

A scheme of commercial union with the United States was mooted outside of parliament by a few gentlemen of both parties, but it did not commend itself to any appreciable extent.

Parliament met again on the 23rd of February, 1888.

His Excellency congratulated the House upon the general prosperity of the country, upon railway expansion, the Fishery Treaty with the United States, and other matters. The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Dr. Montague and seconded by Mr. Joncas.

The mover quoted from the New York *Times* newspaper an article to show the lack of prosperity in the rural districts of the United States, where farm land was so heavily mortgaged.

Mr. Laurier had now reluctantly succeeded Mr. Blake as leader of the Opposition. After graciously acknowledging the successful efforts of the mover and seconder, and making some allusions to the responsibility placed upon him through the resignation of Mr. Blake as Liberal leader, he saw no reason, he said, why Canadians went to reside in the United States, considering the great resources and attractions of our own country. He spoke pleasantly of Lord Lansdowne's great services to the country while discharging the duties of his high office, which was about to close in this country.

The premier, after congratulating Mr. Laurier, in his usual happy manner, on his accession to the leadership of the Liberal party, replied jauntily as regards the exodus of the population; that this is a free country, and its people had a right to ruin themselves by leaving their own country if they were determined to do so.

Dr. Tupper delivered his budget speech on the 26th of April.

Mr. Cartwright replied in a caustic speech, followed by Mr. Mitchell in the same criticising strain. Mr. Cartwright submitted a resolution looking for the free interchange of natural products between this country and the United States. His proposal was rejected by 124 to 67 votes.

As His Excellency's term of office was drawing to a close, he having already been appointed to the high office of governor-general of India, a joint address of both Houses was presented to him on the 18th of May. His Excellency responded in suitable terms, regretting that his official connection with Canada was drawing to a close.

The monopoly clause of the agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway, which prevented the chartering of competing lines and American connections, was this year abolished, greatly to the relief of the inhabitants of Manitoba and the North-West.

Government of Lord Stanley of Preston.

Lord Stanley of Preston succeeded Lord Lansdowne as governor-general of Canada on the 11th of June.

Premier Mercier, of Quebec, raised a great commotion throughout the Dominion by introducing a bill

for the final settlement of a very old alleged claim known as the Jesuits' Estates. The Jesuit Society of New France had received large endowments of land from the French Crown for the support of education in the colony. The society was, however, suppressed by the Pope in 1773. The membership of the society therefore gradually dwindled down in Canada, and finally disappeared altogether in the year 1800, when Father Casot, its last representative, died. Consequently the British Crown took possession of the property, as is usual in such cases. The Roman Catholic Church in Canada, however, put in a claim for the property, which was not seriously entertained by the government. The almost forlorn hopes of the claimants revived, however, when Quebec again became a separate province in 1867 under confederation. Mr. Mercier, the premier of Quebec, now proposed to deal with the matter in earnest. By way of compromise he proposed to provide an appropriation from the revenues of the province of the large sum of four hundred thousand dollars, to be devoted chiefly to educational purposes, in the following manner: To the Jesuit Society, $160,000; to Laval University, $140,000; to Labrador mission and bishops, $40,000; for Protestant education, $60,000—which the latter body were somewhat loth to accept, while disapproving, as they did, of the propriety of the whole measure.

A motion for the disallowance of the bill by the Dominion Government was proposed by Col. O'Brien, M.P. for Muskoka and Parry Sound, upon the 26th of March, whereupon a somewhat bitter debate ensued in the House, and also provoked some angry discussions in the English-speaking provinces. The

motion was, however, properly voted down in the Dominion Parliament (it received only thirteen votes, which Sir John characterized as the devil's, not the baker's, dozen) upon the ground that the province had not exceeded its powers in passing the bill. It would not therefore be wise or constitutional to interfere with provincial rights.

During the recess Mr. Charles H. Tupper was admitted to the cabinet as minister of marine and fisheries vacated by Mr. Foster, who became minister of finance. Mr. Haggart also joined the government as postmaster-general, and Mr. Dewdney as minister of the interior in succession to Mr. T. White, deceased.

Parliament met on the 31st of January. This was His Excellency's first speech from the throne, in which he expressed his gratification at being associated with the fortunes of the Dominion. He regretted that the Fishery Treaty with United States had not been ratified by the senate of that country; that a measure to assimilate bills of exchange and promissory notes would be introduced. An effort would be made to secure a fast Atlantic steamship line. A service between British Columbia, Japan and China had already been established.

The address was moved by Mr. Peter White and seconded by Mr. Lepine.

Mr. Laurier, after making courteous allusions to the efforts of the mover and seconder, criticised the administration in a searching but dispassionate speech.

In due course Mr. Foster, the new finance minister, delivered a lengthy and elaborate budget speech, which abounded in statistics, and announced a deficit of $810,031.

Mr. Cartwright replied in his usual able manner. The shrewd old political veteran, the Hon. J. H. Pope, died on the 1st of April, and was succeeded by the Right Honorable Premier as minister of railways and canals. Parliament prorogued on the 2nd of May.

A reaction set in against the Canada Temperance (Scott) Act this year, which was now being repealed on all hands. Some anti-Jesuits' Estates Act meetings were held, and an association was formed under the title of "Equal Rights," and a deputation was sent to the governor-general requesting him to disallow the Act. His Excellency very properly refused to do this in the face of the recent large parliamentary vote against such a course.

Mr. C. Colby was admitted to the cabinet during the recess as president of the council. Some sensational constitutional proceedings were again transpiring in Quebec, Lieutenant-Governor Angers having dismissed Mr. Mercier, the premier of that province, upon some alleged improprieties on the part of Liberals, in which Mercier had really no personal part.

Parliament met on the 16th of January, 1890. His Excellency adverted to his enjoyable and successful visit to the western provinces, where he had been enthusiastically welcomed. He referred to the most serious interference with the Canadian seal fisheries in the Behring Sea by rival Americans, and also to several other commonplace topics.

The reply to the address was moved by Mr. Rufus Pope, who now succeeded his father as member for Compton, and was seconded by Mr. Prior.

Mr. Laurier, after a few complimentary references

to the mover and seconder, proceeded to denounce the so-called National Policy for favoring the few at the expense of the many, in having created sugar barons, cotton lords and railway kings, while many of the unfavored class had nailed up their doors and windows and departed to foreign countries, and announced that the depreciation of farm lands in the great province of Ontario amounted to $22,000,000.

The premier, in his reply to Mr. Laurier, stated that the unpatriotic slogan of the Reform party is that Canada is ruined. He denied that the National Policy was responsible for the exodus which was taking place.

Mr. Mulock's loyal address to Her Majesty the Queen, repudiating certain utterances of some public men in the United States and elsewhere, was adopted unanimously.

Mr. McCarthy's bill to abolish the official use of the French language in the North-West was defeated by a vote of 117 to 63. In any case the bill was not required, as the French language had never been used officially in the North-West, nor is it likely to be so used.

Mr. Foster shortly afterwards delivered his budget speech, which showed a surplus of $1,865,036. Some commendable changes were made in the tariff, chiefly to enlarge the free list of raw materials in the interests of manufacturers.

Mr. Cartwright was quite severe in his criticism of the finance minister's statement. He declared that the existing distress in the country was more acute than at any time for the past thirty years, and that the finance minister seemed happy in a fool's paradise.

Mr. Colby followed Mr. Cartwright with some statistics showing the depressed condition of the farmers in the United States.

A charge had been made that General Middleton had, during the North-West Rebellion, helped himself to some furs without paying for them, which belonged to a man named Bremner. A committee was appointed to investigate the matter. The complaint was sustained and Middleton resigned his command.

Mr. Barron brought up the Tarte exposure of the McGreevy-Langevin scandal, whereby it is alleged the country was defrauded of a large sum of money, a considerable portion of which had been used in the election for the Conservative party.

The high protection tariff measure in the United States, known as the McKinley Bill, now became law, and hit exports to the United States of Canadian produce very hard.

Parliament was dissolved on the 4th of February, a year before the expiry of the full term, upon the insincere plea of obtaining reciprocity from the United States. The pretence was exposed by Mr. Blain, the American secretary of state. But the chief object of the premature election would seem in reality to be the securing of another lease of power before the alleged McGreevy frauds were established, and also to forestall the Liberals, who had called a general convention for the adoption of a platform and plan of campaign for the next year. The premier was quite successful in these tactics. The alleged McGreevy frauds were fully proved after the election had taken place, and the Liberals did not have time to hold the proposed convention before the election was sprung

upon them. The consequence was that the Liberals entered the contest with the new, ill-digested and complex platform of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, a proposal which was misunderstood and quite unintelligible to many of the electors of their own party, who in many instances confounded unrestricted reciprocity with the former commercial union theory, which had been propounded by a coterie of both parties, and which would necessitate an assimilation of tariff with the United States, but not necessarily so under unrestricted reciprocity, as the customs houses of both countries would have to be satisfied that the goods to be passed free were the production of either Canada or the United States, as the case might be.

The unrestricted reciprocity platform was favorably received for a very short time, but steadily lost ground through unforeseen circumstances as the campaign progressed. The Conservatives denounced the proposal as veiled treason. Some Liberals of British birth took alarm at what seemed to them an unfriendly attitude, or worse, towards the Mother Country.

Mr. Cartwright, of known sterling loyalty, was accused of being in a conspiracy for the annexation of Canada to the United States.

The climax of Liberal obstacles was, however, to some extent accidental, in this way: The well-known and talented journalist, Mr. Edward Farrar, had written a private pamphlet upon an alleged weak point in Canadian affairs for the use of an American politician, just before he was engaged as editor of the Toronto *Globe*. He was scarcely installed in the

editorship of that newspaper before a copy of the pamphlet, which had been secretly furnished by a printer, found its way to Sir John Macdonald, who promptly made use of the document to the utmost detriment of the Liberals, by making it appear that the Farrar pamphlet reflected the views of the *Globe,* and of the Liberal party, which it did not. The incident probably caused the Liberal party the innocent loss of several seats in Ontario and the other provinces.

Sir Charles Tupper, the high commissioner, an official paid by the country, was improperly brought out from England to take a most active part in the contest. These several factors doubtless aided the government very materially in securing another five years' lease of power.

Mr. Blake refused to be a candidate at the recent election, and he at any rate did not approve of the platform of unrestricted reciprocity, fearing that it might have the least tendency towards political union with the United States, which no one in either party desired, but which some honestly but groundlessly feared, if the proposed unrestricted reciprocity were adopted.

The result was that the government carried the country by a majority of twenty-seven. Mr. Tarte was elected for Montmorency, and was for the time being in political accord with Mr. Laurier. Sir Charles Tupper is credited with saying that if the Liberals had adhered to Mr. Blake's proposed platform, as annunciated at Malvern, they would have carried the country.

Parliament met on the 9th of April, and elected Mr. Peter White as Speaker.

His Excellency delivered the speech from the throne on the following day, which was on the whole rather tame and cautious, as the government were none too sure of their position, and were anxious to avoid contentions.

The reply was moved by Mr. Hazen and seconded by Mr. Corbauld. Mr. Laurier replied at length, and accused the government of resorting to most unworthy tactics in order to win at the late election.

The premier endeavored to pose as jauntily as ever, but did not seem to be in his usual happy vein. Mr. Tarte moved, seconded by Dr. Guay, on the 11th of May, a resolution upon the McGreevy-Langevin scandal, in which it was alleged that the country had been most seriously defrauded.

The impending ruin which was now hanging over the head of the premier's first lieutenant, Sir Hector Langevin, was a severe shock to the nervous system of the premier. His friends wished him to seek rest and a change of air, but he refused to leave the capital in the present state of business.

He held a friendly and confidential conversation with his old acquaintance, Mr. Mills, a Liberal, in which he expressed a heartfelt desire to see only thoroughly upright men in the councils of the country. The two gentlemen intended to renew the conversation at a more convenient time, but it was not to be.

While a motion, censuring Sir Charles Tupper, high commissioner, for taking part in the late election was being debated, the veteran leader of the government, Sir John A. Macdonald, was stricken down by a sudden attack, which proved fatal on the 6th of June, and he who was the great leader and idol

of his party, and whose name had been a household word for half a century, ended his earthly career, to the great regret of untold millions of his fellow-subjects throughout the Empire.

When the House met Mr. Langevin, the senior Privy Councillor, officially made the painful announcement of the sad event, but broke down with emotion and grief, having to desist and resume his seat. He, however, managed to say that he desired that a public funeral be voted by the House. Mr. Laurier followed with a sympathetic reference to Mr. Langevin's emotion, which he said was not surprising under the circumstances; that his silence spoke more eloquently of his feelings than could any words. He then proceeded to deliver one of the most eloquent and pathetic addresses ever delivered in the House. He said that Sir John had remarked years ago to a friend that he might perhaps be taken from the floor of Parliament to die like the two statesmen Pitts, father and son; his prophecy had been fulfilled. Mr. Laurier cordially supported the proposal of a public funeral for the deceased premier. Mr. Davies declared that the late premier was the equal, and in some respects the superior, of the first statesmen of Britain. The House adjourned for a week.

His Excellency called upon Mr. Abbott to become premier, and parliament reassembled on the 16th of June.

Considerable time of the session was occupied in investigating scandals in the printing and other departments. The London *Times* expressed deep regret that such wrong had been done to the fair fame

of the oldest daughter of the Empire by the lax morality of our politicians.

The government requested relief from the conditions of the Belgian Treaty of 1862, and also from the German Zollverein of 1865, in which Canada had been included by the Palmerston government without her consent. The request for relief was refused by the Mother Country upon the selfish plea that it was beneficial to herself.

The result of the decennial census enumeration was disappointing, notwithstanding that alleged frauds had been perpetrated to exaggerate them.

The nationalist government of Mr. Mercier in Quebec being somewhat indirectly concerned in the Bay Chaleur Railway scandal brought some consolation to the Conservatives in the way of an offset to the McGreevy scandals, and resulted in the overthrow of (as has already been stated) of Mercier, and of the restoration of the *Bleu* or Conservative party to power.

Mr. Edgar asked for a committee to investigate some charges of fraud and corruption against Sir Adolphe Caron, a cabinet minister, but the application was refused, and the investigation was therefore not allowed to go on. However, some alleged copies of damaging letters and *fac-similes* of bank drafts, which had been used for political purposes, were published, to the injury of the Conservative party.

The House met on the 26th of February, 1892.

His Excellency referred in feeling terms of regret to the death of His Royal Highness the Duke of

Clarence and Avondale, eldest son of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, heir-apparent to the throne.

Reference was again made to the seal fishery troubles in the Behring Sea, which it was said, were likely to be soon adjusted; that steps were being taken to have the Alaskan boundary defined; that negotiations had been entered upon with the Washington government looking to a more reciprocal, free interchange of certain commodities, and that three ministers had been sent to Washington to promote the object, but that nothing had so far resulted; that the necessary measure for the redistribution of seats in the Commons upon the last census enumeration would be submitted to the House during the session.

Measures for the amalgamation of the Marine and Fisheries Department, an Act relating to the Territories, and also reports of the commission appointed to inquire into the workings of the beet-root industry, and also upon the civil service system, would be shortly submitted.

The reply to the address was moved by Mr. Northrup, who spoke at length upon general topics, not omitting to comment upon the sad void created in parliament by the death of the lamented Right Honorable Sir John Macdonald; he also referred in suitable terms to the death of the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, neither did he forget the glorification of the National Policy.

Mr. Bain, of Soulanges, seconded the address in a similar strain, speaking in the French language.

Mr. Laurier complimented Mr. Northrup upon the quiet and pleasant tone of his speech, which had embraced a variety of interesting topics. He could

not, however, agree with many of the speaker's general deductions; he was, however, in accord with his observations upon the death of the two very distinguished personages to which he had referred.

Mr. John Thompson expressed his pleasure upon the kindly attitude evinced toward the mover and seconder by Mr. Laurier.

Mr. J. A. Ouimet was admitted to the cabinet as minister of public works, and Mr. J. C. Patterson as secretary of state.

Mr. Foster delivered his budget speech on March 22nd, which embraced a mass of figures and statistics, and a general survey of the state of the country.

Sir Richard Cartwright reviewed and criticised Mr. Foster's deliverance most thoroughly.

The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie having departed this life somewhat unexpectedly during the recess, Sir John Thompson made a most feeling and appropriate allusion to the sad event. Mr. Laurier also paid a fitting tribute to the memory of his former leader. Mr. Mackenzie will be remembered as an able, honest, patriotic, and industrious man, kind hearted, but generally too candid in his expression of his opinions for the manipulation of all sorts and conditions of men. He was no schemer to gain power, where some other men felt no qualms in bribing a constituency or a province out of the public resources. Mr. Mackenzie would not allow a contractor or anyone else one dollar to which they were not legally entitled.

Canada made a good display at the Chicago World's Fair. Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn, M.P., acted as commissioner for the Dominion. Mr. N. Awrey, M.P.P., for Ontario, and the Hon. John Macintosh for Quebec.

Parliament met on January 26th, 1893. His Excellency's speech reported continued progress in the development of the Dominion, increased trade and the finances in a satisfactory condition. The Alaskan boundary question was receiving attention; steps were taken for preservation of the fisheries, a friendly conference had been held with authorities of Newfoundland, and the Franchise Act was to be improved.

The reply to the address was moved by Mr. McInerney, of New Brunswick, who revelled considerably in statistics. The seconder was Mr. Leclair, who spoke in French. Mr. Leclair eulogized his able predecessor, Mr. Chapleau, in the representation of Terrebonne.

Mr. Laurier congratulated the mover and seconder in the usual way. He said that Mr. McInerney had caught the ministerial spirit, and referred to Othelo and Cassius—the wiles of Iago got them to taste the baneful cup. He regretted the illness which caused the resignation of Premier Abbott, and spoke in high praise of his successor, Sir John Thompson, personally, but criticised the government.

Sir John Thompson replied in a dignified and practical speech, vindicating the general administration of affairs by the government. Messrs. Cartwright, Foster, Mills, and others spoke at length.

Mr. Foster delivered his budget speech on February 14th, which was somewhat replete with statistics, and embraced a wide range of topics, as usual.

Sir Richard Cartwright replied vigorously, rallying the finance minister all along the line, remarking that there was a tone of unrest and disquietude in

the budget speech upon this occasion. There was an absence of the usual braggadocio. No taunts were being flung across at the Opposition, and no invitation to bow to the will of the National Policy. He may have heard of a whilom member, represented to possess the brains of the party, saying evil things of the holy tariff and also blaspheming the sacred gerrymander.

A great Liberal convention was held in Ottawa during the recess, and a comprehensive platform adopted.

The House met on the 15th of May, 1894.

Government of the Earl of Aberdeen.

The new governor-general, the Earl of Aberdeen, in his first speech from the throne, informed both Houses of Parliament that the seal fishery trouble had been arranged by arbitration at Paris. The subject of the Bankruptcy Act would be dealt with, and that arrangements had been made with certain steamship lines for services of advantage to the country.

The address in reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Sir James Grant in a somewhat flattering speech from the ministerial standpoint. The address was seconded by Mr. Lachapelle, who spoke in the French language.

Mr. Laurier complimented the mover and seconder in a happy but incisive speech, ornamented with some classics and Shakespearian quotations at the expense of the government.

Sir John Thompson, Sir Richard Cartwright, Mr. Macdonald (Huron), Mr. McMillan (Huron), Mr.

Mills, Mr. Martin, and others followed in practical speeches.

Mr. Foster delivered his budget speech on May 27th. In his opening remarks he craved the indulgence of the House if his statement was of unusual length, owing to the magnitude of the task set before him. His speech on this occasion actually occupied upwards of ninety pages of the Hansard.

Sir Richard Cartwright, after making a brief reference to the 665 tariff changes just proposed by the finance minister, moved the adjournment of the debate until the following day, when he resumed, remarking that he, like the previous speaker, claimed the indulgence of the House if his speech was a lengthy one. It was certainly a somewhat lengthy speech, too, but not so voluminous as that of the Minister of Finance. It occupied thirty-seven pages of the Hansard.

The budget was discussed by several members on both sides of the House, according to their different points of view. Mr. Laurier indulged in a little raillery at Mr. Foster's expense on the latter's change of front on the temperance question, a subject, the pursuit of which gave Mr. Foster his first public prominence, but now discarded entirely by him.

Prorogation took place 23rd July, 1894. Sir John Thompson died at Windsor Castle while upon a visit to Her Majesty during the recess and Sir Mackenzie Bowell became premier.

The House met again on the 18th April, 1895. His Excellency in the speech from the throne referred to the lamented death of Sir John Thompson, and to Her Majesty's sympathy over the great loss; that negotiations had been entered upon with the Province

of Newfoundland with a view to its union with Canada; that he had visited Manitoba, the North-West and British Columbia, and was greatly impressed with the future possibilities of those provinces; that the depression of trade throughout the world was being felt in Canada; that the French treaty was satisfactory, and that measures for the improvement of the Land Act, insolvency, and respecting Dominion notes would receive attention.

The reply to the speech was moved by Mr. Bennett, in a somewhat lengthy address, the chief feature of which was a feeling and appropriate tribute to the death of the late premier, Sir John Thompson. Mr. Belley seconded the address, and among other topics emphasized what Mr. Bennett had said about the late Sir John Thompson.

Mr. Laurier reviewed the addresses of the mover and seconder in his customary manner. His reference to the death of Sir John Thompson was in the highest degree eloquent. He portrayed the great loss to the country of such a gifted man in the prime of life. As regards the late Sir John A. Macdonald, although his death was a great loss to the country, it was somewhat different to Sir John Thompson, as Sir John A. Macdonald had already attained a ripe old age.

Mr. Laurier then criticised the unfulfilled prophecies of the government, the most glaring of which was their estimate of four years ago, when they predicted that $58,000,000 would be made out of the sale of Dominion lands. The facts were that they had not realized one dollar from that source.

Mr. Foster followed in an eloquent speech. He too paid a tribute to the memory of Sir John Thompson.

The negotiations for the entrance of Newfoundland into the Dominion unfortunately did not succeed, owing to a disagreement upon the financial terms. The Canadian government ought to have dealt liberally and sympathetically with Britain's oldest colony, which was then temporarily under a financial cloud. "A friend in need would have been a friend indeed" at that time. It is to be hoped that a better understanding may be arrived at in the near future.

In the speech from the throne His Excellency chiefly referred to the Manitoba school question, regretting that the government of that province would not take the necessary steps to relieve the situation. It would, therefore, be necessary for his government to introduce a remedial measure upon the subject.

Before any further proceedings were entered upon Sir Adolphe Caron, minister of militia and defence, rose in his place and made the startling announcement that seven members of the cabinet had deserted their legitimate leader, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, premier of Canada, by resigning their portfolios, and that he, Sir Adolphe, would endeavor to give further explanations at the next sitting of the House, and that he would then ask for an adjournment for ten days or a fortnight.

Mr. Laurier, while sympathizing with the leader of the government in the dilemma in which he was unfortunately placed, could not consent to an adjournment of that nature, but that the House could adjourn from day to day, which would be the most convenient and satisfactory course in the present crisis.

The bolters from the Bowell cabinet were Messrs.

Foster, Haggart, C. H. Tupper, Ives, Dickey, Montague and Wood. Mr. Foster explained to the House, on behalf of the bolters, that they had been endeavoring to persuade the premier that it was very important to the great Liberal-Conservative party to have at its head an abler and stronger man than the present leader, but the premier was so obstinate on that and other points that seven of his ministers, including himself, felt constrained to resign in the hope that it might lead to the formation of a stronger cabinet.

Sir Richard Cartwright characterized the present incident as the most extraordinary in all the histories of crises which had ever taken place, and which did not reflect much credit upon the parties concerned.

The crisis continued for some days until a compromise was effected, which resulted in a partial reconstruction of the government. Sir Charles Tupper entered the cabinet as secretary of state on January 15th, and secured a seat in the Commons for Cape Breton, through the retirement of Mr. McKeen from the representation of that country, to be appointed to the Senate. Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, son of Sir Charles Tupper, retired from the cabinet, and the other six bolters, having returned to the fold, the cabinet thus filled up again proceeded to the performance of its nominal functions, greatly weakened in prestige by the unseemly fiasco.

The reply to the speech from the throne was not undertaken until the 16th of January. It was then moved by Mr. MacGillivray, and seconded by Mr. Powell. Sir Wilfrid commented politely upon the efforts of the mover and seconder. As to the latter

his good reputation had preceded him from his own province as a man of ability, but he would not like to accept him as a guide; as to the latter, the seconder, he thought that his memory was rather limited, but his imagination was vast. Mr. Foster followed Mr. Laurier at considerable length.

Mr. Foster delivered his budget speech on January 31st, in a somewhat subdued appeal to the public for forbearance towards the government, and was followed by Sir Richard Cartwright in a scathing speech, who characterized Mr. Foster's appeal as being extremely pathetic in his pleading for another lease of place and power, "slaves of the ring, if not of the lamp" with almost tears in his voice and in his eyes, "Why make a change? Why turn us out?"

British connection and Imperial defence formed a popular topic in which Messrs. McNeill and Davies were the chief speakers.

Mr. Dickey, the minister of justice, introduced the ill-advised Remedial Bill on February 11th.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at the conclusion of a remarkable speech, moved a six months' hoist to the bill. A long debate ensued, which lasted until the expiration of the parliamentary term, consequently the bill had to be abandoned, and preparations made for the general election.

Sir Mackenzie Bowell resigned as premier in favor of Sir Charles Tupper, who now went to the country as leader of the great Liberal-Conservative party.

Parliament was prorogued on the 28th April, 1896. His Excellency was made to say, officially at least, that he regretted that the Remedial Bill had not become law.

The dissolution of parliament followed in its natural course. The general election took place on the 23rd of June, and resulted in the defeat of the Tupper government. Sir Charles Tupper attempted to make some important appointments after the country declared emphatically against him. His Excellency very properly declined to be a party to these proceedings, and came in for some undeserved abuse by the disappointed parties. Sir Charles then retired with rather bad grace towards His Excellency.

Mr. Laurier was invited by His Excellency to form a government, in which he succeeded most admirably before the 16th of July.

The new cabinet was probably the strongest ever formed in Canada, comprised as follows: Mr. Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright, Sir Oliver Mowat, Mr. Davies, Mr. Fielding, Mr. Blair, Mr. Scott, Mr. Mulock, Mr. Paterson, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Joly, Mr. Tarte, F. W. Borden, and Messrs. Dobell and Geoffrion without portfolios.

Parliament assembled on August 9th, and elected Mr. J. D. Edgar as Speaker. His Excellency's speech promised a settlement of the Manitoba School trouble, and that the tariff question would be dealt with at the ensuing winter session. The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. McInnis, of British Columbia, who claimed that the task was an honor conferred upon his province in selecting him for the gracious task of moving the address .

Mr. Lemieux seconded the address, speaking eloquently in French. Sir Charles complimented the mover and seconder, and then launched forth in a lengthy and forceful criticism of the new government.

Mr. Laurier followed in his usual happy and effective manner, and could afford to be very forbearing, as he indeed was, to the fallen chief.

A very brief financial statement was made by Mr. Fielding on August 28th. He could not be expected to unfold a fiscal policy at this early stage. He was compelled to obtain a temporary loan of $400,000, as the previous government had not provided sufficiently for the public wants and for meeting every public obligation, which was shortly to become due.

Mr. Foster replied to Mr. Fielding, vindicating the former administration, particularly of the finance department, over which he had presided.

The prorogation took place on the 5th October. Fourteen bills, including the supply bill, received the royal assent.

The House met on March 25th, 1897. His Excellency's speech referred to the coming Diamond Jubilee of Her Gracious Majesty; to the settlement of the Manitoba School question; that the promised revision of the tariff would take place during the present session. The transportation question would receive attention, and also the Behring Sea treaty.

The reply to the address was moved by Mr. Russell and seconded by Mr. Ethier. Sir Charles Tupper complimented the mover and seconder, and then branched off in an incisive speech, which covers forty columns of Hansard.

Mr. Laurier replied to the latter in a fitting manner, greatly to the delight of his followers in the House.

Mr. Fielding delivered his great budget speech on April 22nd, unfolding the eagerly expected fiscal

policy of the Laurier government, which consisted in a modification of the former tariff, designed from a standpoint of doing as much justice as possible to both manufacturer and the consumer, which after a fair trial, while not perfect or satisfactory to everyone, proved to be the most successful fiscal policy yet devised by any Canadian government. The financial statement occupied eighty-eight columns of the first volume of Hansard of 1897. At subsequent sessions Mr. Fielding happily adopted the preferential feature of the tariff in favor of the Mother Country, as a free gift, which was greatly appreciated and had a good effect.

Mr. Foster followed at length, declaring that the government had not carried out the Liberal platform of 1893, nor the promises made when in opposition. Mr. Foster's financial criticism on this occasion filled fifty columns of Hansard.

Eighty-five bills received the royal sanction. The House prorogued on June 29th.

The House met on the 3rd of February, 1898. His Excellency referred to the specially magnificent recognition which Canada and its premier received at the hands of Her Majesty, and of the British people on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee. He referred to the general prosperity of the country. A contract had been let for a rail and river route to facilitate access to the rich gold fields of Yukon, the conditions of which would be laid before parliament.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. G. Bertram and seconded by Mr. Gauvreau.

Sir Charles Tupper and Mr. Laurier (now Sir Wilfrid Laurier) followed the movers and seconders in very able speeches.

The Yukon River and railway contract with Mackenzie and Mann, the cost of which was to be paid for entirely in alternate blocks of land of that region at the rate of 25,000 acres per mile was ratified in the House of Commons, but was defeated in the Senate. Seeing that the contractors were assuming great risk, and as the country was not being burdened with any money grant, it seems regrettable that the scheme was not allowed to go forward, as if the land proved to be rich in minerals, the public would benefit equally with the contractors from the reserved portions along the route of the proposed highway, besides reaping the advantages of efficient communication with that remote district.

The budget speech was delivered by Mr. Fielding on April 5th, 1898, and replied to by Mr. Foster on April 12th.

Prorogation took place on the 15th June, when the large number of one hundred and thirty-two bills passed during the session became law.

Government of Lord Minto.

Lord Minto had now become governor-general, and in his speech commented graciously upon the circumstances of meeting with the assembled parliament for the first time. His Excellency referred to the general prosperity of the country; to the gold output in British Columbia, and to the penny postage rate which the postmaster-general, Mr. Mulock, had been successful in arranging with the Motherland.

The reply was moved and seconded by Messrs. Bell and Martineau, and commented upon by Messrs.

Tupper, Laurier and others, somewhat after the usual manner.

The budget speech was delivered by Mr. Fielding on May 2nd, which was most comprehensive and satisfactory. A substantial growth of trade and an overflowing treasury were announced.

Mr. Foster criticised the budget at length. He characterized the financial statement as a campaign effort. It was a full and complete apology he said for past errors and delinquencies, and would go down to history as a most complete recantation of past errors, promises and policies of honorable gentlemen opposite for the past eighteen years.

Speaker Edgar died on August 1st and was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Bain. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Charles Tupper delivered suitable addresses upon these events.

Prorogation took place on August 11th, 1899.

The House met again on February 5th, 1900. In the speech from the throne His Excellency referred to the liberality of the Dominion in having furnished two contingents for the South African War, which was supplemented by an additional contingent furnished through the personal munificence of Canada's high commissioner, Lord Strathcona. He was charged by the Imperial government and by Her Majesty to convey thanks for the loyal and generous aid sent in the time of need.

His Excellency then referred to the general prosperity of the country; to the expansion of trade; to the completion of the canals to a fourteen foot depth; to the rapid development of the western domain. A measure for the expeditious settlement of labor strikes, etc., was promised.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. Gould, and seconded by Mr. Geoffrion, and criticised by Sir Charles Tupper and Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the usual thorough manner characteristic of these gentlemen.

Mr. Fielding delivered his budget speech in a very happy vein on the 25th of March. He reflected the true Canadian feeling by exposing the unpatriotic and narrow-minded policy of the opposition politicians and press, which asserted loudly that the government were remiss in not obtaining a *quid pro quo* from the Mother Country for the preferential tariff.

Mr. Foster said he rose with great pleasure to venture some remarks of plain, and he hoped, truthful criticism of the finance minister's statement.

Prorogation took place on July 19th. His Excellency offered congratulations upon the success of the British arms in South Africa; upon a buoyant revenue, and also upon the stimulation of trade with the Mother Country by reason of the preferential tariff; and of having passed a Conciliation Act for the settlement of strikes.

Parliament was dissolved during the recess, and a general election followed, in which the Laurier government was sustained at the polls. The Dominion Franchise Act had been repealed, and the franchise of the respective provinces adopted instead, as had existed prior to 1885.

The new parliament assembled on February 6th, 1901. Mr. Brodeur was elected Speaker on the motion of the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The new Speaker was gracefully felicitated by Sir C. Hibbard Tupper. The elder Sir Charles Tupper did not

succeed in holding his seat in the recent election. The Conservative leadership was therefore vacant.

His Excellency delivered the speech from the throne on the following day, referring pathetically to the death of our great and beloved Queen, which occurred since the last session of parliament. He referred to the return of the Canadian contingent from South Africa, after having distinguished themselves on the different battle fields. Reference was also made to the scheme of confederation in Australia.* To the expected visit of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. To the success of Canada at the Paris Exposition. To his interesting visit to Dawson City.

A measure was promised for the better supervision of food export trade.

Sir Charles Tupper, the hero and veteran of many political triumphs, having been unsuccessful in his election contest for the first time in the last election campaign, his party were compelled to select a new leader in the House. The choice fell upon Mr. R. L. Borden, a very prominent lawyer and citizen of Halifax, who was congratulated in very suitable terms by the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier upon his promotion.

Mr. Borden acknowledged the compliment in a few well-chosen and modest words.

A very feeling resolution upon the death of Her Majesty was proposed by the premier, and seconded by Mr. R. L. Borden. Both gentlemen delivered eloquent speeches appropriate to the occasion. It

* Sir William Mulock represented Canada at the opening of the first session of the Australian Federal parliament.

was a subject indeed upon which the speakers could pour out their feelings with the utmost sincerity in tokens of love, admiration and veneration.

Mr. Fielding presented his budget on March 14th, and was able to announce a most gratifying condition of affairs in all departments.

Mr. Foster having shared the same fate at the polls as his veteran leader, Mr. Osler was assigned the onerous task of stepping into the breach to reply to the financial statement of Mr. Fielding. Mr. Osler prudently refrained from dealing very largely in figures on this occasion. He, however, claimed in a general way that the present prosperity was largely due to the policy of the Conservative party. He counselled a wise and careful surveillance of the resources of the country.

Mr. Bourassa having found fault with the government for sending Canadian troops to South Africa, Sir Wilfrid delivered a powerful and patriotic reply on the 13th March, 1900, to Mr. Bourassa.

Parliament met on February 13th, 1902. His Excellency spoke of the general prosperity of the country, and to the proposed tour of their Royal Highnesses* through Canada. He referred regretfully to the assassination of Mr. McKinley, the excellent president of the United States. He mentioned that the census returns did not show a very large increase of population during the past decade. He also referred to the Marconi discovery and development of the wireless system of telegraphy, and to the extension of trade generally.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. Archibald Campbell, and seconded by Mr.

* The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York.

Beland. These speeches were commented upon by Messrs. Borden and the premier in a pleasant way.

The budget speech was delivered on March 17th, and was a continued story of prosperity, and of an overflowing treasury. The finance minister referred to the felicity of having delivered his budget under the patronage of the great and good patron saint St. Patrick.

The recent anti-dumping clause in the tariff to prevent Canada from being a slaughter market by other countries is an excellent feature in the fiscal policy of the country.

Mr. Borden assumed the task on this occasion of replying to the annual financial statement. He attempted to dispel the minister's glamor as regards the saint's day event, as an earlier day had actually been fixed by the minister for the delivery of the budget speech.

The country was well represented in the matter of exhibits at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, and also at the Glasgow Exhibition, at the latter by Col. W. E. O'Brien, ex-M.P., as commissioner.

Prorogation took place on May 15th, when about one hundred and fifty bills received the royal sanction.

Parliament met again on March 12th, 1903, when His Excellency in the speech from the throne alluded to the continuation of the prosperity with which the Dominion is blessed; to the King's coronation, and the incidents of his illness and happy restoration to health; to the appointment of six important jurists to adjust the Alaskan boundary. Bills were promised for the establishing of a railway commission;

for the redistribution of seats in the House of Commons consequent upon the last census-taking; for the construction of a transcontinental railway; also a bill upon Chinese immigration.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Col. A. T. Thompson and seconded by Mr. Demers. The efforts of the mover and seconder were the subject of enconium on the part of the leader of the Opposition, Mr. R. L. Borden, and of the leader of the government, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Mr. Fielding delivered his budget speech on the 16th of April, which was a continued story of unexampled prosperity.

Mr. Borden made his reply to the financial statement on the following day, and wondered, he said, if matters were so prosperous as to have had a soporific effect upon the minister's colleagues, four of whom slept through the delivery of the address, one of whom awoke at six p.m., to object to an adjournment.

The vast transcontinental railway scheme was introduced by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and naturally caused much discussion, and divergence of statement.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved and seconded by Messrs. Guthrie and Marcil, and that both gentlemen acquitted themselves worthily goes without saying.

Mr. R. L. Borden followed in a very efficient address, during which he complimented the mover and seconder upon their efforts, but naturally and legitimately detracted as much as possible from the splendid showing claimed by the government.

The premier reviewed the three previous addresses in his thorough, agreeable and customary manner.

In his prorogation speech on the 25th of May His Excellency referred to some of the results of the session, such as the making of the 24th of May a legal holiday; the authorization of a royal mint to be established in Canada; the tour of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York.

A further allowance was made to Prince Edward Island, which would insure satisfaction to the people of that province. One hundred and twenty-four bills received the royal sanction during the session.

The minister of railways and canals, Mr. Blair, resigned his seat in the cabinet and attacked the government's policy upon the question of route, etc. The deliberations upon the scheme were most protracted. The chief conditions of the project were that the government undertook to build the eastern section to terminate at Moncton, N.B., and to be leased to the newly chartered Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company for fifty years, to be free of rent for the first five years. The Grand Trunk Pacific, assisted by government guarantees, etc., were to construct the remainder of the road to the Pacific Ocean within eight years. The details and conditions were much less favorable to the Grand Trunk Pacific than were the terms accorded to the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1880-81.

Mr. Borden submitted a counter-proposal to utilize some existing lines as part of the proposed system, which would, however, make the road much longer and less useful in opening up new territory than the government scheme.

All the government bills, including some eighty

acts of divers kinds, were passed, and the House prorogued after a most tedious session.

His Excellency's prorogation speech referred to the expanding revenue; to the large immigration; to the passing of the measures for the establishing of the railway and transportation commission; to the difficult redistribution bill, which was, however, passed; to the subsidizing of a steamship line to France; to the unsatisfactory Alaskan award, owing to the action of the United States Senate, etc.

The adoption of the two-cent postage rate with the Mother Country, with some of the colonies and with the United States by the postmaster-general, not only conferred a great boon upon the community, but also proved to be most satisfactory from a revenue-producing standpoint.

The House met on March 10th, 1904. Mr. Brodeur having resigned the Speakership, Mr. Belcourt was elected to the chair in his stead.

His Excellency then delivered the speech from the throne, in which Providence was thanked for a bountiful harvest. The increase of trade was referred to, also the Alaskan boundary question; a new militia bill would be introduced, and the Grand Trunk Pacific Bill of the previous session would require amendment. A comparatively short session was promised.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. George D. Grant, and seconded by Mr. Rivet. Comments upon the speech by Mr. Borden and the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, somewhat after the usual manner, followed.

In the meantime it had transpired during the recess that the Grand Trunk Railway Company sharehold-

ers were unwilling to undertake the proposed vast scheme upon the conditions which parliament had imposed in the previous session, and now requested that the charter might be amended and the conditions somewhat modified. The proposal was acceded to by parliament after considerable debate. The Grand Trunk Railway shareholders then ratified the proposed formidable undertaking, and the work of surveying the route by both the railway company and the government upon their respective portions of the route was vigorously instituted and pushed forward.

The budget speech was delivered by Mr. Fielding on the 16th of April, and was as highly satisfactory as his previous happy deliverances upon the fiscal policy and financial condition of the country.

The country had been lately successful in freeing itself from some vexatious tariff preferences which had been granted by the Imperial government to Belgium and Germany, which improperly had included Canada without her consent. The last-named country attempted to retaliate in the way of discrimination against Canada. Our financial minister was, however, equal to the emergency and promptly imposed a surtax upon German goods which brought the people of that country to their senses. Mr. Borden requested that the debate be adjourned, as he was suffering from hoarseness. The adjournment having been agreed to, Mr. Borden delivered his criticism on the following day.

The gallant soldier, General Lord Dundonald, had been appointed general officer of the militia of Canada. His coming was hailed with delight, and matters seemed to be going on well for a time, but unfortu-

nately the general's suggestions and requisitions called for an undue outlay of money, and some friction having been engendered through the appointment of officers for a new battalion which was being organized in the Eastern Townships, the General very improperly aired his supposed grievances at a public banquet in Montreal, during which he cast reflections upon the conduct of the heads of the department whose servant he was, thereby resulting in the inevitable dismissal of His Lordship. The incident provoked much excitement, sympathy with Dundonald ran somewhat high at first, but as the circumstances began to be better understood by the public the unpleasant affair was soon well-nigh forgotten. The experience of the world has demonstrated that the civil government should always be supreme in these matters.

The minister of militia and defence seems to be fully alive to the importance of maintaining the service under his department in a reasonable state of efficiency, though at a considerable cost. Some attention is also being given to the formation of a small navy, to co-operate with that of the Mother Country, which seems to be a step in the right direction. Canadians are willing to assist the Mother Country in any filial and expedient way, but undue militarism will not be welcomed by the people of Canada, as our men and means can be better employed in peaceful pursuits than in military display. Canada made a most creditable display at the World's Fair, St. Louis.

The House was dissolved in the autumn, and a gen-

eral election took place on the third of November, in which the government was sustained by the large majority of sixty or upwards.

Lord Minto's term of office having now expired he vacated Government House, leaving the country in a most prosperous and progressive condition. He was succeeded in the governor-generalship by Earl Grey, his brother-in-law, Lady Minto's brother.

Government of Earl Grey.

The House met on the 11th of January, 1905, and elected Mr. R. F. Sutherland, member for North Essex, Speaker of the Commons. Senator Dandurand was appointed Speaker of the Senate by the government.

His Excellency delivered the speech from the throne on the following day. After expressing his realization of the high honor of being appointed to preside over the Dominion of Canada, and felicitating its people upon continued progress and prosperity of the country, he stated that the surveys of our new transcontinental railway were being pushed vigorously; that full autonomy would be granted to the North-West Territory, etc.

The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by E. M. Macdonald, and seconded by Mr. Parent, which was followed in a speech lasting one hour, by Mr. George E. Foster. Sir Wilfrid followed Mr. Foster, and indulged in some good-natured banter at the expense of the latter. Mr. Maclean also spoke briefly, after which the address passed unanimously.

The sum of $200,000 was voted for the establishment of a mint at Ottawa, in which the gold and silver of our own country can be coined at home—certainly a step in the right direction.

It was very properly decided that Canada shall bear the expense of her own defences, which will involve an increased expenditure in the militia department of about $2,000,000 annually, and a saving to the Mother Country of an equal amount. It has been reported later that the Imperial government have decided to withdraw the regular soldiers and ships of war entirely from Halifax and Esquimalt, a contingency looked upon with disfavor in some portions of Canada, and was a subject of discussion in the Senate during the present session.

The Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced, on the 22nd of February, in an exhaustive speech, his very important bill for the creation of the two new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta out of the North-West Territories, each province to extend north as far as the 60th parallel, which is the northern boundary of British Columbia, and the division between the two will be formed by the 110th meridian, Regina to be the capital of Saskatchewan and Edmonton to be the provisional capital of Alberta. Very liberal financial provision is made in the bill for the administration of the affairs of the new provinces, as the lands are still being retained by the Dominion. The announcement by the premier, however, that the Separate Schools must be continued, created some surprise, and much agitation throughout the country has ensued.

At the conclusion of the premier's speech, Mr. R. L. Borden, leader of the Opposition, spoke for about

twenty minutes. He rallied the premier upon a change of heart upon this question. He, however, sincerely trusted that on both sides of the House that the education question would not be sought to be made a political issue.

Mr. Sifton, the minister of the interior, resigned his seat in the cabinet, owing to the educational clause in the bill. In consequence of the wide-spread dissatisfaction in Ontario and the west, the premier then agreed to modify the educational clause, making it fairly acceptable to his followers, including Mr. Sifton.

Mr. R. L. Borden, in one month only from the date of his first remarks, moved a direct amendment to the educational clause in favor of reserving to the provinces the right to deal with education. Much debating followed. The speech of the Conservative leader of the Opposition in Quebec, Mr. Monk, was in direct opposition to his chief. He declared positively that the Roman Catholic hierarchy had not meddled with the question, that the electorate of his province would resent any clerical interference. The second reading of the bill was carried by a large majority.

Mr. Frank Oliver, member for Edmonton, N.W.T., was sworn in as minister of the interior in succession to Mr. Sifton, and was re-elected by acclamation.

The Senate.

The Senate, or second chamber, was to some extent a continuation, with a change of constitution, of the former Legislative Council, which in the Province of Canada had been made elective in 1856. The term then was for eight years, with a property qualification

of $8,000. After confederation the Legislative Council was merged and changed into a Senate, to be nominated by the Crown for life, a property qualification of but $4,000 being now requisite. It is provided in the British North America Act, that the representation in the Senate be seventy-six members, and not to exceed the maximum number of eighty-two members. The first representation actually appointed was seventy-two members, divided into three divisions—Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, with twenty-four members from each division. In the event of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland entering the union, these provinces to be embraced in the last-named division. The first draft of senators was taken from the ranks of the former Legislative Council, and also equally from each political party. The Speakership of the Senate, unlike that of the Commons, is a government appointment.

The Senate possesses the same legislative powers as the Commons, with the exception of the supply bill, which is introduced and controlled chiefly by the House of Commons. The Senate, on the other hand, takes the initiative in divorce, and some other matters. The Senate at one time was rather unfairly a by-word, for "jeering" people, but is now being more highly appreciated, and is certainly a very important, dignified and necessary branch of the three estates of parliament. It can be a safeguard against crude and irregular legislation, and a protection to the weaker provinces when it fulfils its proper functions, which it will no doubt do in future, even although it has been blamed for some political partiality in the past.

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

The history of Ontario from confederation in 1867 down to the present time is an uninterrupted record of progress and prosperity. Its first legislature was comprised of an elected House of Assembly of eighty-two members without a Legislative Council, or second chamber.

The first appointment of a lieutenant-governor was in the person of General Stisted, who opened the first session, but only presided temporarily, and was succeeded in July by the Hon. W. P. Howland, now Sir William Howland, who still survives at the age of ninety-four years. The first Speaker was Mr. John Stevenson, member for Lennox.

Government of John Sandfield Macdonald.

The first executive was comprised of five members. The premier and attorney-general was John Sandfield, an old parliamentarian who had filled the high positions of speaker, solicitor-general and premier and attorney-general in Old Canada. Mr. Macdonald was a Liberal bordering upon radicalism, but was somewhat estranged from the great Liberal tribune, Mr. George Brown, upon the question of representation by population, upon the scheme of confederation, and upon a nominative second chamber; to all of which he had been opposed, and which Mr. Brown favored.

Mr. Macdonald was an able and shrewd man, but of a somewhat irritable temperament. He said of himself that he "lacked dignity," but on the other hand he was known to resent any undue familiarity

towards himself. He was very careful in all his career to husband the resources of the country as much as possible. Many amusing tales are told of his parsimony and cheese-paring economy. His government was a coalition—a term which he, however, did not relish, and therefore jocularly dubbed it himself a "patent combination." His colleagues were Matthew Crooks Cameron, an able and honest Tory lawyer; Mr. S. Richards, an able and honest lawyer, in politics a Baldwin Reformer; Mr. Carling, a very popular and progressive Liberal-Conservative layman, and Mr. E. B. Wood, an able lawyer, and a Liberal in politics, but who did not follow Mr. Brown's ideas of returning quite so soon to party lines as the former desired.

The government was supported during the first term of the legislature by a solid phalanx of Conservatives, with the addition of half a score of Liberals. The Opposition was led for a short time by Mr. Archibald McKellar, and then by Mr. Edward Blake until the end of the term, and part of the first session of the second term, after which he led the House for the remainder of the session.

The first division took place upon a financial question. The Opposition were carried away by the strong prejudice which existed against the Bank of Montreal in Ontario at that period, when it was supposed that said bank had been squeezing and crippling the weaker banks of the province. The circumstances as affecting the Ontario treasury at the time were as follows: The Dominion, not yet having had an opportunity to make its first financial arrangements, owed the province for the first half-yearly

instalment of the fixed subsidy, which is payable half-yearly by the Dominion to the provinces, and proposed either to pay to the province the bank rate of interest until payment could be made in a few months hence—as a temporary arrangement—or to give its debentures to the province at par.

The provincial government having no immediate use for so much money in the winter season, therefore decided to accept some Dominion debentures, and to allow the balance to remain at bank interest for a time.

The Opposition conceived that it would be a popular move to force the Dominion Government to pay up at once by borrowing temporarily from banks—the rate of interest at the time being about 8 per cent.—and the money, when received from the Dominion, to be deposited in the banks of the province at 4 per cent., in order to strengthen them financially. The government, on the other hand, by the course pursued, derived the full rate of interest from the Dominion upon a portion of the amount, and sold the debentures which they held at a premium, thereby making it a very much better transaction for the province than that proposed by the Opposition, and at the same time avoided inconvenience to the finance minister of the Dominion. The other current revenues derived from timber dues, sales of lands, and other resources were deposited in such local banks as the Royal Canadian Bank, in order to help them.

The government policy so commended itself to a majority of the House that several Liberal members, including the author of this work, voted with the government. The government introduced and passed

a Free Grant Land and Homestead Act, which, however, was not at first popular, as it proposed to reserve from actual settlers certain merchantable timber, minerals, etc. It, however, gave quite an impetus to the settlement of the new districts, although the timber conditions have never, up to this time, ceased to be a bone of contention in the free grant districts of the province.

The government gave timely notice that the usual former grants to denominational colleges would be discontinued after the first session. This important step gave rise to much opposition and lobbying on the part of the officials of the various religious colleges which had been the recipients of grants for many years. The premier was, however, firm in his determination ,and carried out his policy, which has ever since been adhered to.

A good deal of legislation took place during the term. Educational, municipal and agricultural matters were dealt with; surveys were undertaken; colonization roads were constructed; waterways were improved, and a railway policy adopted, the latter was, however, open to criticism, and proved a source of weakness to the government, owing to its lack of details.

It was proposed in the government scheme to set aside a block sum of money for the subsidy of any new railway running in a northerly and southerly direction, but no particular line to be aided was specified, thus opening the door to possible favoritism, log-rolling, and undue influence; and it also deprived sections which required lines running east and west from participating in the subsidy, which naturally

created dissatisfaction in some sections of the province.

A large surplus was accumulated in the treasury, the hoarding of which weakened the government.

Upon the recommendation of a special committee, comprised of Messrs. Cumberland, Graham of Hastings, Ferrier, Pardee, Clarke, Galbraith and McKellar, the House voted the sum of $4,000 to Mrs. Mackenzie, widow of W. L. Mackenzie, to reimburse—for her sole use and benefit—certain expenses incurred by her husband in a delegation to the Imperial government, which he made in the public interest previous to the troubles of 1837; a division took place, resulting in 35 votes for and 31 against the proposal.

The House was dissolved in March of 1871. The elections for the first time were in a commendable manner all held on the same day. The government lost heavily at the polls, largely on account of the undefined railway policy. It was, therefore, doubtful whether the government could command any majority when the House met in December, particularly as two at least of its supporters were unseated—Messrs. Lauder and Colquhoun—and could not be re-elected in time for the meeting of the House.

After electing the Speaker, the Hon. R. W. Scott, the premier rashly challenged the Opposition, which had been criticising and opposing the adoption of the address in reply to His Honor's speech, to move a want of confidence vote. The challenge was accepted and the administration was left in a minority of one. The government resigned shortly afterwards, not being able to carry the address or to control the House.

Government of Edward Blake.

Mr. Blake was then called upon to form a government, which he accomplished with great facility. His colleagues were Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, treasurer; Hon. R. W. Scott—who resigned the Speakership—commissioner of Crown lands; Adam Crooks, attorney-general; A. McKellar, commissioner of public works, and Peter Gow, provincial secretary. The Hon. J. G. Currie was appointed Speaker. Mr. Blake took the position of president of the council without salary.

Mr. Macdonald, the late premier, upon being requested by some of his former followers to attend a caucus for the purpose of choosing a leader of the Conservative Opposition, about to be organized, petulantly declined to do so, saying that he was going home to Cornwall. He died the same year, 1872.

Mr. M. C. Cameron, afterwards Sir Matthew Crooks Cameron, assumed the leadership of the Opposition for several years. Upon his accepting a judgeship he was succeeded by Mr. Meredith, afterwards Sir William Meredith, who ably led the Opposition for a number of years, and who also finally accepted a chief justiceship. Mr. G. F. Marter then succeeded Sir William Meredith for a short time as leader, after which Mr. J. P. Whitney, the present leader, was appointed to that important position.

Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie retired from the government, and House of Assembly as well, to become candidates at the ensuing general election for the Dominion, which was held during the summer of that year. Some useful legislation was enacted during

the session, and the railway policy was placed upon a definite and liberal basis. A reward of $5,000 was offered for the apprehension of the murderers of Thomas Scott at Fort Garry, Manitoba, in 1870.

Sir John A. Macdonald, it was suspected, prompted the sinister enactment of what was known as "Costigan's Little Bill," during the current session at Ottawa, which had the effect of preventing Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie from continuing to hold dual positions, had they desired to do so. Mr. Blake, therefore, promptly succeeded in persuading the Hon. Oliver Mowat to resign his seat upon the bench of the Court of Chancery and assume the premiership of the province.

Government of Sir Oliver Mowat.

This step on the part of Mr. Mowat was sharply criticised in some quarters, but the ex-chancellor very properly felt that there was no incompatibility or compromise with righteousness in presiding over the province as premier and attorney-general. Mr. Mowat, afterwards Sir Oliver Mowat, continued to occupy the position of premier and attorney general without interruption for the long period of twenty-four years, until he became minister of justice at Ottawa.

It is worth noting that Sir Oliver Mowat's career is probably without a parallel in any country, all of which was probably due to his high character, good temper, great ability, courtesy, Christian bearing and wisdom, backed up by the constant smiles of Dame Fortune.

Sir Oliver studied law in the office of Sir John Macdonald at Kingston, and never retaliated personally upon the attacks of his former tutor, who tried hard, but unsuccessfully, for party purposes, to dislodge his old pupil from the very strong position which he held in the country. Mr. Mowat removed to Toronto in early life, where he enjoyed a lucrative practice, was elected an alderman, and afterwards returned to parliament for South Ontario. He was a member of the short-lived Brown-Dorion government, a member of the Macdonald-Dorion government, and a member of the coalition government (for union purposes, being one of the fathers of confederation); then Judge of the Court of Chancery; then premier of Ontario, minister of justice at Ottawa, and then lieutenant-governor of Ontario at the time of his lamented death. As has been stated, Sir Oliver presided over the destinies of the province as premier and attorney-general for twenty-four years. Under his wise, progressive and honest government the province made great strides, both socially and materially, in every department, for the well-being of the people.

Sir Oliver introduced the ballot system of voting at elections, and adopted the British custom of numbered ballots, which has been criticised as lacking in absolute secrecy.

Some constitutional and boundary questions arose during Sir Oliver's *régime*, in which he was pitted against his old tutor and his legal associates upon no less than half a dozen occasions, where the cases were carried to the highest legal tribunal in the Empire, and in every case Sir Oliver was victorious.

Government of Hon. A. S. Hardy.

Sir Oliver Mowat was succeeded in the premiership and attorney-generalship by Mr. A. S. Hardy, a very prominent lawyer from Brantford, who had been provincial secretary and commissioner of Crown lands under Mr. Mowat; a very able man, who ruled the province exceptionally well for a few years, until compelled to resign, owing to ill-health. He died a very few years ago, and was succeeded by Mr. G. W. Ross, who had been minister of education under the Mowat and Hardy premierships, and had also been for several years a member of the House of Commons.

Government of Hon. G. W. Ross.

Mr. Ross is a most versatile and able speaker, and quite progressive in the way of development and improvement. But he succeeded to the premiership at a period when the party was being disintegrated through long tenure of office. He appealed to the electorate for the first time in 1902, and was sustained by a very narrow majority.

After reconstructing his cabinet by the retirement of Messrs. Davis and Stratton and by Mr. Gibson vacating the attorney-generalship—Messrs. Charlton, Graham and McKay being brought in to take their respective portfolios—a largely attended convention of the party was then called, but some resolutions adopted were apparently not acceptable to either the temperance or liquor men.

An appeal to the country followed, and after a brief but exciting campaign, the elections took place on the 25th of January of the present year (1905) result-

ing in the decisive overthrow of the Ross Government, which resigned on the 7th of February.

Although no charge of misappropriation of the public patrimony can be made against the government, they apparently had, however, seriously alienated the support of both liquor and temperance men, as well as some of their former friends upon other considerations.

It is most unfortunate, however, that latterly the fair fame of the province has been smirched in some way by what is known as "machine" work, carried on in the elections by a few unscrupulous men in both parties, the Gamey incident, during the first session of the present parliament, having a most disquieting effect.

It is therefore to be hoped that all will join hereafter in a supreme effort to put an end to all fraudulent, corrupt, unfair tactics and misrepresentations in the conduct of all public affairs, and in the promotion of pure and free elections. Neither party should employ or harbor hangers-on, who are bent upon mischief, greatly to the detriment of the reputation of both parties, and what is worse, in the bringing of disgrace upon the otherwise good name of the country. A portion of the party press is also much to blame in the exaggeration of the degree of wrong-doing actually perpetrated by the opposing side.

The most stringent laws should also be adopted to stamp out every unfair method in the conduct of both candidates and election workers, and also of unscrupulous voters, by the inflicting of severe punishment upon all offenders.

The province is being well developed by the pro-

vincially assisted railways and surveys throughout what is known as New Ontario. The government has opened up the Temiscaming district, and the region beyond, by a government system of railways.

Government of Hon. J. P. Whitney.

His Honor, Lieutenant-Governor Clark, then requested Mr. Whitney, leader of the Opposition, to form a ministry, in which he promptly succeeded as follows: Mr. Whitney, premier and attorney-general; J. J. Foy, K.C., commissioner of Crown lands; Col. Matheson, provincial treasurer; Dr. Pyne, minister of education; Nelson Monteith, minister of agriculture; Dr. Reaume, commissioner of public works; W. J. Hanna, provincial secretary; Messrs. Willoughby, Beck and Hendrie without portfolios.

The premier, James Pliny Whitney, was born in Williamsburg, Ont., in 1843, was educated at the Cornwall Grammar School; called to the bar in 1876; created a Q.C. in 1890; was elected to the provincial parliament for Dundas county in 1888, and had been leader of the Opposition since 1896 until his recent accession to the government benches. Few men have had such favorable opportunity conferred upon them by the people for great usefulness as is now afforded to Mr. Whitney and his colleagues. They have certainly entered upon a comfortable and smooth-going, yet responsible, position of power in the administration of the affairs of this great province.

The first session of the new parliament under the Whitney government was opened by His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Clark, with great eclat, on the 22nd of March, 1905.

Among the most important announcements in the speech from the throne was an intimation that a new department would be created to administer the mining affairs of the province, and that the election law would be amended to abolish the numbered ballots, and that a progressive policy for the development of the new districts would be carried out.

Mr. W. H. Hoyle moved and Mr. J. P. Downey seconded the reply to the lieutenant-governor's speech. They were followed by Messrs. T. H. Preston and Richard Harcourt, in the absence of Hon. G. W. Ross, the probable leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Mathieson, the treasurer, delivered the financial statement on the 13th of April, in which he disputed the existence of the surplus claimed by his predecessor. The discrepancy arises upon the difference of opinion as to whether the proceeds of the timber limit sales should be placed to revenue or capital account.

Mr. Harcourt replied to Mr. Mathieson.

QUEBEC.

The Legislative and Executive Councils of the great Province of Quebec, in common with those of the sister Provinces of Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were organized under the new system in 1867.

The representation in parliament was comprised of an elective House of Assembly of sixty-five members, and a nominated Legislative Council of twenty-four members appointed for life, and an Executive Council of five members.

The first lieutenant-governor was Sir Narcisse Belleau, who had been a member of the Legislative

Council of Old Canada for some years, and was also its premier after the death of Sir E. P. Tache in 1865, until the Dominion government was formed in 1867.

The first Speaker of the Legislative Council was Mr. Boucherville, and of the Assembly, Dr. Blanchet.

The cabinet, unlike that of Ontario, was a party one, taken from the ranks of the *Bleus* or Conservatives, and was as follows: Mr. Chaveau, premier and minister of education, secretary and registrar; Mr. Dunkin, treasurer; Mr. Baubien, commissioner of Crown lands; Mr. Irvine, solicitor-general, and Mr. Archambault, commissioner of agriculture and public works.

The financial history at least of Quebec contrasts rather unfavorably with that of Ontario. The government of the former province in the earlier days under confederation appears to have made a bad start in the way of thrift, as instead of accumulating a comfortable balance on the right side, as in Ontario, it soon resorted to borrowing extensively until a very formidable debt was incurred.

There is no record of a regularly elected leader of the Opposition, but Mr. Bachand, member for St. Hyacinthe, a very active gentleman, criticised the government, as also did Mr. Joly, afterwards Sir Henry Joly, now lieutenant-governor of British Columbia, and others; but the government, being overwhelmingly strong, paid little heed to the criticisms of the small *Rouge* or Liberal contingent in the Assembly.

The political life of the province has at times been most exciting, owing to some high-handed and summary proceedings which were enacted.

In 1878 the Boucherville government, while com-

manding a considerable majority in the House, was summarily dismissed by Lieutenant-Governor Letelier, upon the grounds, His Honor alleged, that his ministry unconstitutionally violated and ignored his functions in a most flagrant manner, and also upon the ground that the premier had confessed to him that he could not prevent certain rings among his own followers in parliament from misappropriating the patrimony of the province. Mr. Boucherville, the premier, personally a most respectable gentleman, disclaimed any disrespect towards His Honor.

His Honor then called upon Mr. Joly to form a government, and he accepted the responsibility. The House was dissolved, and the new government was sustained by a majority of but one.

The Mackenzie government was in power in Ottawa at the time when the *coup* took place, but was defeated in a few months afterwards; thereupon the now victorious party from Quebec, burning with revenge, forced the hands of the incoming government at Ottawa, which dismissed the lieutenant-governor upon the plea "that his usefulness was gone."

Mr. Joly ruled the province honestly, but was not properly supported in the House, consequently did not remain long in office. The Legislative Council, however, obstructed the supply bill, and Lieutenant-Governor Robitaille having refused a dissolution, Mr. Joly resigned. The *Bleus* had it all their own way again for a considerable time, until Mr. Mercier succeeded Mr. Joly as leader of the Opposition, and later carried the country at the polls. Mr. Mercier's followers were chiefly a fusion of *Rouges* and Nationalists. The Mercier government

occasioned some commotion throughout the Dominion by having settled the long-standing claim of the hierarchy in the matter of the Jesuits' Estates.

A scandal arose, of which the premier disavowed all personal advantage or knowledge, over the misappropriation by some railway promoters and political wire-pullers of some funds intended for the Bay Chaleur Railway Company; for this offence the Mercier government was dismissed by Lieutenant-Governor Angers. The *Bleus* then came in again, but were finally defeated by the Opposition under the leadership of Mr. Marchand, who ruled the province wisely and well for several years until his lamented death.

Mr. Parent, the present premier, succeeded Mr. Marchand, and the affairs of the province are continuing to go on satisfactorily. The province has had a dozen different premiers since confederation, while Ontario has had but five during the same period.

Mr. Parent would, in all probability, have been sustained, but resigned, owing to ill-health. The Hon. Lomer Gouin then succeeded to the premiership.

Quite a remarkable transformation has taken place in the political complexion of the province of late years. A former ultra *Bleu* community has now become an ultra *Rouge* stronghold. This change in party ranks has been largely due to the personal popularity of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and also to the late premier of the province, Mr. Marchand. The province has very large resources, and will in a short time be prosperous and free from debt.

The province was relieved of large financial liabilities in 1884 by the Dominion government assuming

the accounts which the province had expended upon certain railways. The action of the Dominion government was open to criticism as a questionable policy. Sir Charles Tupper, the minister of railways, however, contended that said railways were for the general advantage of Canada.

There was a political crisis on in the province at the time of writing (1905), owing to a split in the ranks of the Liberals, but this is now over.

NOVA SCOTIA.

The local government of this fine historical province was organized after the event of confederation, with a lieutenant-governor, an executive of nine members, three only of whom, however, held portfolios, a Legislative Council of twenty-one members, and a House of Assembly of thirty-eight members.

Mr. Blanchard was the first premier, but owing to the then prevalent anti-union feeling only secured the return of one supporter, Mr. Pineo, at the ensuing general election. He consequently resigned. Mr. Annand became premier. The anti-union feeling did not abate for some time. The House having accepted the situation, and better financial terms being granted, the union feeling received a slight impetus, which has been gradually growing, and is now in satisfactory condition. The following succeeded Mr. Annand as premier: Messrs. Hill, Holmes, Thompson, Piper, Fielding, and Murray, the present premier. The treasury of the province shows a small surplus over expenditure.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

The first legislature of New Brunswick after confederation was comprised of the Honorable L. A. Wilmot, as lieutenant-governor, and the following appointed members of the Legislative Council and elected members of the Assembly:

Legislative Council—Messrs. Beveridge, Chandler, Davidson, Hamilton, Hanington, Harrison, Jones, Lewis, O. McInerny, Minchin, Muirhead, Perley, Robinson, Ryan, Seely, Todd, Saunders and Young. Mr. Saunders, Speaker.

The Assembly—Messrs. Babbit, Beckwith, Bliss, Botsford, Butler, Cae, Coram, Covert, Cudlip, Des-Brisey, Dow, J. Flewelling, W. P. Flewelling, Frye, Hammond, Hibbard, Johnston, Keans, Kelly, Kerr, King, Landry, Lindsay, McAdam, McLeod, McQueen, Meahan, Montgomery, Moore, Hazen, Peck, W. E. Perley, Quinton, Stephenson, Sutton, Taylor, Thierault, Thomson and Wetmore. Mr. Bliss Botsford, Speaker.

The executive was comprised of Messrs. J. McAdam, Wetmore, Beckwith, Flewelling and Kelly.

Parliament met on the 15th of February. The reply to the speech from the throne was moved by Mr. Lindsay, and seconded by Mr. Keans.

The affairs of the province appear to have gone on in a comparatively smooth manner until the passing of the Free School Bill in 1871, to which the Roman Catholics were bitterly opposed. They carried their grievances to the Federal arena.

The legislature passed resolutions asking the

Dominion for better terms. In the following year both Houses passed resolutions in condemnation of the Washington Treaty.

The Legislative Council was abolished in 1892.

The present premier is Mr. Tweedie. There is a small surplus in the treasury.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

The large island province of Newfoundland contains an area of 42,000 square miles, with a population of 225,000. It has the historical distinction of being England's oldest colony, and is also the part of America nearest to Europe. Previous to the granting of representative government under Sir Thomas Crawford, in 1832, the colony had a long line of governors taken from the navy, unlike that of the Canadas, which had a succession of governors taken from the army; neither class being well adapted for presiding over the affairs of ordinary civil government and of practical colonization.

Newfoundland weathered many disasters of divers kinds in its earlier history. Possessing then—as it does still—the most valuable cod-fisheries and bait supply in the world, they were naturally coveted in primitive times by several of the great powers of Europe, who, regardless of the prior rights of England, sent out ships by the hundred and men by the thousand to participate in the almost inexhaustible fisheries of the colony, which resulted, as might have been expected, in the clashing of interests, bloodshed, mutual destructiveness and reprisals under such a predatory system as then existed. The French seem

to have been the most persistent and aggressive of all the foreign powers. Even after the indisputable British rights of proprietorship were duly acknowledged by all the powers, France, by some diplomatic skill, had privileges conceded to her in perpetuity for landing, for the drying of fish, and for the taking of timber to build huts and staging along the coast for hundreds of miles.

The representative system, with fifteen elected members and a nominated council, did not seem to work well, owing to the clashing between the two bodies, consequently the constitution of the legislature was suspended for a comparatively short period, then reconstituted into a unique system of an amalgamated legislature. The assemblymen and councillors sat and voted together, which seemed to work well, most probably due to the prudent administration of the then excellent governor, Sir John Harvey, whom we favorably met before in the narrative of the Maritime Provinces.

The membership of the Assembly was increased to thirty, and responsible government granted in 1855. The governmental machine did not always work smoothly in the early stages of its inception. Unfortunately, parties were sometimes divided upon religious grounds, but it is believed that the last embers of these burning questions have been for some time past extinguished, and that harmony now happily prevails.

The representatives of Newfoundland participated in the Confederation movement in 1864, which, however, did not result favorably to union. The union idea was again revived nearly ten years ago; the basis

of representation in the Dominion parliament was agreed upon between the Dominion and Newfoundland delegates, but the negotiations unfortunately fell through over the financial terms. It does appear that the Canadian delegates, who were also cabinet ministers, were not as liberal and sympathetic as they ought to have been under the circumstances. They, no doubt, offered the usual terms which subsist between the other provinces and the Dominion, but the principle upon which Canadians ought to have acted was to have considered what the financial circumstances of Newfoundland required to enable the colony to carry on its government comfortably without having resort to direct taxation. The people of Canada would have approved of such a course. It is not for any material or selfish advantage that the people of Canada desire to welcome our neighbours into the Union. The Dominion is both able and willing to accord to Newfoundland at least mutual advantages in every arrangement that may be determined on, and there should be strength in union. The nearest part of Newfoundland proper is within 22 miles of the mainland of Canada, at the Straits of Belle Isle, and the colony also possesses about seven thousand square miles along the coast of Labrador, adjoining Canada. It is to be hoped, therefore, that a better understanding will ultimately be arrived at between Canadians and Newfoundlanders, and that they may in due course become one people.

The public affairs of the province are prosperous and are at present administered by the government of the Hon. Robert Bond, who commands the confidence of its people.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

The province of Prince Edward Island entered into union with the Dominion in 1873 upon certain conditions, which have since been fulfilled as far as possible. The first representatives at Ottawa were Messrs. Montgomery, Haythorne and Howlan in the Senate, and Messrs. Laird, J. C. Pope, D. Davies, James Yeo, Sinclair and A. C. Macdonald in the House of Commons.

The provincial parliament is now composed of a lieutenant-governor, an elective Legislative Council, and an Assembly of sixteen members each. These two bodies were merged into one chamber in 1893. The affairs of the province are in a satisfactory condition, the soil being very fertile; therefore, with good returns from agricultural pursuits and fisheries, etc., and good prices for such products, there is nothing to fear for the material welfare of the people of the snug little province.

The winter service between the Island and mainland by steamers has not always been promptly performed, owing to obstructions of large fields of ice. A tunnel connection with the mainland has been suggested, but it would be a most expensive and formidable undertaking, and the ventilation system for such a lengthy tunnel might be a serious consideration. However, with the recent success attained by ice-breaking steamers in several localities, it is probable that the winter service can be performed with more regularity in the future than in the past.

THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

As has been already stated in the short narrative of Manitoba, the North-West Territories were placed under the jurisdiction of a lieutenant-governor and three councillors, at Battleford, in 1876. Lieutenant-Governor Morris had in the previous years rendered good service in effecting Indian Treaties Nos. 4, 5, and 6, and Lieutenant-Governor Laird effected Treaty No. 7 himself with the Blackfeet Indians in 1877.

The provisional districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabasca were created in 1882, and the seat of government removed from Battleford to Regina, where a legislature was established with a lieutenant-governor and an Assembly of thirty-five members elected from as many constituencies.

The present lieutenant-governor is Hon. A. E. Forget, and his ministry is comprised of Messrs. Haultain (the Premier), Bulyea and Elliott. The Territories, at the time of writing, are agitating not only for further autonomy, but also for the creation of two provinces out of the present territory, with full autonomy, which will most probably be accomplished before the final publication of this volume.

The present Assembly is comprised of the following members: Messrs. C. W. Fisher, Charles Fisher, Prince, Young, Bennett, McDiarmid, Haultain, Greely, Finlay, Woolf, Secord, Lake, Wallace, Simpson, Meyers, Talbot, Deveber, McIntyre, Annable, Smith, McKay, McDonald, Bulyea, Brown, Hawkes, McNutt, Klinskill, Lambert, Connell, Rutherford, Shera, Rosenroll, Gillis, Elliott, Patrick. Mr. Gillis, Speaker.

The Educational Council, comprised of Messrs. Beck, Willis, Rev. D. Gillis, Smith and Short, has the oversight of the important interest of education.

The Mounted Police have rendered most valuable service in the maintenance of law and order throughout this vast domain.

BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1871.

The great Pacific province of British Columbia, the largest of all the provinces at present organized, entered the Union in 1871, with a representation in the Senate of three members and in the House of Commons of six members, which was considered a very liberal representation at the time. Subsequent events, however, have proved that it was not too liberal.

The first lieutenant-governor under the Union was the Honorable Joseph William Trutch, C.E.

The first Senators were Messrs. Carrall, Cornwall and Macdonald. The first members elected to the Commons were Messrs. De Cosmos, Wallace, Nathan, Thompson, Houghton and Nelson; and to the Legislative Assembly were Messrs. Armstrong, Ash, Beaven, C. Booth, J. P. Booth, Bunster, Cogan, De Cosmos, Duck, Holbrook, Hughes, Hunter, Humphreys, McCreight, Mara, Robertson, Robinson, Robson, Saul, Semlin, R. Smith, Todd, Trimble, and Walkem. Speaker, T. Trimble.

The ministry was comprised of the following: Mr. McCreight, Premier and Attorney-General; William Walkem, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Mr. Robertson, Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Holbrook, without portfolio.

The province is making substantial progress in both population and material wealth. It has passed through more than one political crisis, which, however, did not seriously retard the material progress of the country, the resources of which are very great.

British Columbia, like Manitoba and the North-West, was pioneered to a large extent by the Hudson's Bay Company. The province, from its earliest inception, has been very orderly, despite the rushing hordes of miners and prospectors from all over the globe which swept over it at intervals, and who seemed to realize and feel upon the soil of British Columbia the atmosphere of law, order and justice which pervaded the province and which had a wholesome and moralizing effect upon all comers. The McBride government is in power at present.

MANITOBA, 1870.

The bill passed in 1869 for the temporary government of the North-West proved rather futile, owing to circumstances elsewhere referred to. The Red River and North-West Territories were, however, definitely organized into a representative and responsible government under the name of Manitoba in 1870, with a lieutenant-governor, a Legislative Council of seven members, and an Elective Assembly of twenty-four members, and a representation in the Dominion Parliament of two senators and four members in the House of Commons. The first lieutenant-governor was the Hon. A. G. Archibald. The first senators were Messrs. Sutherland and Girard. The first members of the House of Commons were Dr.

Schultz, P. Delorme and D. A. Smith. There being a tie between A. McKay and Dr. Lynch for the fourth seat caused a new election to be held later in Marquette.

The members of the Legislative Council were Dr. O'Donnel, James McKay (Speaker), D. Gunn, Hamlin, Inkster, Dauphenais and Ogletree.

The first members of the Assembly were Messrs. Beauchemin, F. O. Bird, Bourke, Boyd, Brelam, Bunn, Clarke, Dubuc, Delorme, Girard, Howard, Hay, Klyne, Lemay, McKay, McTavish, Norquay, Spence, Schmidt, D. A. Smith, J. Sutherland, Royal and Taylor. Speaker, Mr. Royal.

The first ministry was comprised of Messrs. James McKay, H. J. Clarke, J. Royal, T. Howard and John Norquay. An Executive Council of ten members, in addition, for the North-West Territories was appointed near the end of 1872.

The Legislative Council was abolished in 1876, and in the same year the North-West Territories were detached from Manitoba for governmental purposes. The Hon. David Laird was appointed lieutenant-governor, with a council comprised of Messrs. Hugh Richardson, Matthews, Ryan, and Col. J. F. McLeod.

Separate schools were authorized, but partially abolished by the Greenway government in 1891, which caused much agitation throughout the Dominion.

Manitoba has already had several changes in its ministries. The Conservatives, under the leadership of Premier Roblin, have possession of the government at present. The province is most prosperous and is already a very influential member of the confederated provinces of the Dominion.

The authorities of Manitoba have manifested a desire on two or more occasions to have the boundaries of the province extended, though an attempt to extend its boundaries eastward a few years ago was unsuccessful. A recent movement has been set on foot tending to the extension of the boundary westward, but it remains to be seen whether the new province of Saskatchewan and the Dominion will be consenting parties to the proposal. An unpleasant controversy has unfortunately been aroused over the question.

YUKON.

A judicial district was formed in the Yukon Territory in 1897, with a commissioner, a council (partly elective), courts of justice, customs offices, etc. The capital was located at Dawson City.

The City of Dawson was connected by telegraph with British Columbia in 1889. The district was given a representation of members in the House of Commons in 1902. The Hon. J. H. Ross was elected as member for the constituency in December of that year. Mr. Ross having accepted a senatorship at Regina, N.W.T., after last session, Mr. Congdon became the government candidate at the last general election, but was defeated by Dr. Thompson, the independent candidate.

The climate and soil of Yukon is proving to be more favorable than first anticipated, and the gold mining is quite prosperous.

RETROSPECT.

In conclusion, we have only to remark that an endeavor has been made to trace, step by step, the remarkable evolution and vicissitudes of governments which have transpired from time to time in Canada since the early days of the restricted and autocratic rule in New France down to the inauguration, in 1867, of the present well-matured, strong and workable system which has so effectively established free parliaments and responsible governments, not only for the federal or central capital of the Dominion, but also for each of the several great provinces which are distributed over one-half of the North American continent, thus conferring upon the people the enjoyment of all the well-defined rights, privileges, and advantages that a free, intelligent, and progressive people can desire.

It is, however, scarcely necessary to state that it has not always been quite calm sailing upon our political sea. Canada, owing to a variety of peculiar circumstances, which have been slightly touched upon in the foregoing annals, has at times been considered to be a difficult country to govern, and there has not been wanting at intervals an insignificant number of would-be agitators in the political camps ready to aggravate the situation by attempting to stir up racial and religious prejudices for the paltry sake of gaining some local and temporary party advantages; but such characters have invariably in the end been righteously execrated.

Lord Dufferin, in one of his earlier despatches to the home government, remarked that some Canadians would not hesitate to strike below the belt.

It has, however, always been a most reassuring state of matters that the overwhelming mass of the people have resolutely set their faces against all disturbing elements in the body politic.

It might be thought that the present population of Canada would appear to be disproportionally small to its vast domain. However a rapid increase has lately set in which is steadily assuming larger proportions, and it is but reasonable to expect that Canada will soon be blessed with a comparatively large population.

The Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier has made the prophetic remark that "while the nineteenth century belonged to the United States, the twentieth century would belong to Canada."

The Marquis of Lorne, in his farewell reply to the address from the parliament of Canada in 1885, said among other things, "that Canada is possessed of a *judicature above suspicion;* self-governing communities entrusting to a strong central government all national interests; the toleration of all faiths, with favor to none; a franchise recognizing the rights of labor by the exclusion only of the idle; the maintenance of a government not privileged to exist for any fixed term, but ever susceptible to the change of public opinion, and open through a responsible ministry to the scrutiny of the people. These are the features of your rising power."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FIRST MEMBERS OF THE DOMINION PARLIAMENT
1867

GOVERNOR-GENERAL LORD MONCK

The Senate

For Ontario—Messrs. Hamilton, Matheson, Ross, Mills, Seymour, Dickson, Shaw, Fergusson, Blair, Campbell, Christie, Aikens, Reesor, Leonard, McMaster, Burnham, Simpson, Skead, McPherson, Crawford, Macdonald, Blake, Flint, McRea, and Allan—24.

For Quebec—Messrs. Leslie, Foster, Bossé, Olivier, Bureau, Malhiot, Renaud, Letelier, Tessier, Hamilton, Cormier, A. J. Duchesnay, Dumachel, Lacoste, Armand, Wilson, Chaffers, Guevremont, Ferrier, Belleau, Ryan and Sanborn—24.

For Nova Scotia—Messrs. Kenny, McCully, T. D. Archibald, Dickey, Anderson, Holmes, Ritchie, Wier, Locke, Bell, Bourinot and Miller—12.

For New Brunswick—Messrs. A. E. Botsford, Chandler, Robertson, Hazen, O'Dell, Wark, Steeves, Todd, Ferguson, R. D. Wilmott, A. R. McLellan, and Peter Mitchell—12.

For Manitoba, 1872—Messrs. Sutherland and Girard—2.

For British Columbia, 1872—Messrs. Farrall, Cornwall and W. J. Macdonald—3.

House of Commons

For Ontario—Messrs. Lapum, Simpson, Mills, Brown, Wood, James, Crawford, Sproat, Hurdon, Ferguson, Holmes, J. Sandfield Macdonald, J. S. Ross, Burton, Blake, Dobbie, J. H. Munroe, O'Connor, T. Kirkpatrick, D. A. Macdonald, Shanley, Jackson,

Snider, D. Thompson, White, Magill, J. Brown, Read, Bowell, Whitehead, M. C. Cameron (Goderich), Stephenson, J. A. Macdonald, A. Mackenzie, W. Macdougall, Morris, F. Jones, John Crawford, Cartwright, Benson, Carling, Scatcherd, A. P. Macdonald, C. Wilson, McCallum, A. Morrison, Lawson, Walsh, Keeler, J. Cockburn, J. H. Thompson, T. N. Gibbs, Currier, Oliver, Bodwell, J. H. Cameron, Redford, Macfarlane, Perry, Grover, Hagar, W. Ross, McLachlan, Rankin, J. H. Grant, McConkey, Little, Ault, Harrison, Beatty, J. Morrison, Bowman, Young, Street, Drew, Parker, Stirton, McMonies, Rymal, Wells, Metcalf, Howland and Kempt.

For Quebec—Messrs. Abbott, Gendron, Poser, Cayley, Cassault, Paquet, Robitaille, Dunkin, Benoit, J. J. Ross, Cimon, Holton, Tremblay, Pope, Langevin, Senecal, Fortin, A. A. Dorion, Rose, Bechard, Gaucher, Godin, Pinsoneault, L. Archambault, Bellrose Blanchet, Pouliot, Joly, Caron, Irvine, Chamberlain, Dufresne, J. O. Baubien, Cauchon, McGee, Workman, Cartier, Coupal, Gaudet, Wright, Heath, Brousseau, Huot, Simard, McGreevy, Chauveau, Webb, T. McCarthy, Sylvain, Cheval, Kierskowski, Bourassa, Desaulniers, Huntington, Galt, L. H. Mason, Colby, Bertrand, L. R. Masson, de Niverville, Daoust, McMillan, F. Geoffrion, Fortier.

A special return was made from Kamouraska, the polling having been suppressed in three parishes and the returning officer, Garon, having acted otherwise improperly.

For Nova Scotia—Messrs. Ray, H. Macdonald, A. W. McLellan, C. Tupper, McKeagney, Savary, S. Campbell, A. Jones, Power, Howe, Hugh Cameron, W. H. Chipman, E. M. Macdonald, Carmichael, Forbes, Croke, Coffin, W. Ross, Killam.

For New Brunswick — Messrs. J. Wallace, Connell, Bolton, Anglin, Renaud, Ryan, J. M. Johnson, C. Burpee, J. McMillan, J. Ferris, J. H. Gray, Tilley, Costigan, A. J. Smith and C. Fisher.

For Manitoba, 1871—Messrs. D. A. Smith, Schultz, Delorme (the former member not returned, it being a tie between McKay and Lynch).

For British Columbia, 1872—Messrs. DeCosmos, Nathan, Nelson, Thompson, Houghton.

Ontario Members of First Assembly, 1867

E. J. Hooper, Cumberland, McKellar, Finlayson, Wood, Fitzsimmons, Sinclair, Blake, Swinarton, R. Lyon, J. S. Macdonald, S.

Cook, A. T. Williams, McLeod, S. Wigle, N. McColl, Luton, H. Smith, J. Craig, Lauder, Corby, Boulter, Baxter, Barber, J. M. Williams, K. Graham, T. Scott, Hays, Gibbons, J. Smith, Tett, Stevenson, Rykert, Carling, Shaw, H. D. Smith, Strange, Pardee, Galbraith, J. S. Smith, N. Currie, Evans, Secord, Richards, S. McCall, Wilson, Eyre, A. Fraser, McGill, R. W. Scott, Perry, Paxton, Oliver, Coyne, Monteith, Trow, Carnegie, Read, Boyd, Greely McDougall, Supple, W. Craig, Ferguson, Lount, Colquhoun, Wallis, M. Crooks, Cameron, A. P. Cockburn, Matchett, Springer, Clemens, Beatty, McKim, M. Clark, Ferrier, Gow, Christie, Sexton, Crosby, T. Graham and J. McMurrich.

First House of Assembly of Quebec, 1867

Bellingham, Gendron, Pozer, Pelletier, Noel, Hamilton, Dunkin, Jodoin, J. J. Ross, Clement, Laberge, Trembly, James Ross, H. L. Langevin, Hemming, Fortin, Beaubien, Scriver, Malleur, Lecavilier, Levallee, Thérien, Mathieu, Bellrose, Blanchet, Verrault, Joly, Desnauliers, Irvine, Brigham, Dugas, Blais, Cauchon, Carter, Cartier, Ogilvie, Benoit, Gaudet, Church, Poupore, Larue, Simard, Rheaume, Hearn, Chaveau, Beaudreau, Picard, Garon, Robert, Bachand, Marchand, Robertson, Coutlee, Locke, Malloux, Chapleau, de Niverville, Ouimet, Harwood, Craig, Senecal. No return in Kamouraska.

Legislative Council

Boucherville, Archambault, Armstrong, Beaubien, Bryson, de Lery, Dionne, Dostaler, Ferrier, de Berry, Gingras, Hale, Leboutillier, Lemare, McGreevy, Panet, Proulx, Prudhomme, Rodier, J. J. Ross, Starnes, Thibedeau and Wood.

NOVA SCOTIA, 1867-8

First House of Assembly under Confederation

The issue of writs for a general election to return to the House of Assembly thirty-eight members, was ordered by Lieutenant-Governor Fenwick Williams in the autumn of 1867, which resulted in the election of the following representatives :—Messrs. Troop, Saunders, Daniel Macdonald, Joseph Macdonald, Fergusson, White, Chambers, Morrison, Purdy, H. G. Pineo, jr., Vail, Doucett, Marshall, Kirk, Balcom, Cochrane, Northrup, Lawrence, Young, Blanchard, Campbell, Brown, Dickie, Eisenhauer, Desbrisay, Wilkins, Copeland, Murray,

Smith, Freeman, Flynn, Harper, Robertson, Johnston, Kidston, Ross, Townsend and Ryerson. Mr. Marshall was elected Speaker of the Assembly.

The Legislative Council was comprised of Messrs. Almon, Armaud, Brown, Chipman, Creelman, Creighton, Cutler, Fraser, Heffernan, Keith, Martel, McHeffy, McKenna, McKinnon, McNab, Parker, H. G. Pineo, sr., Smyth, Stairs, F. Tupper and Whitman. Mr. Alexander Keith was appointed Speaker of the Council.

ADDENDA.

PREMIERS SINCE CONFEDERATION.

New Brunswick.

Messrs. Wetmore, King, Hatheway, Fraser, Harrington, Blair, Mitchell, Tweedie.

Manitoba.

Messrs. McKay (President), Girard, Davis, Norquay, Harrison, Greenway, Roblin.

Prince Edward Island.

Messrs. J. C. Pope, Owen, Davies, McLeod, Sullivan, Peters.

Quebec.

Messrs. Chauveau, Ouimet, Ross, Chapleau, Boucherville, Joly, Mousseau, Taillon, Mercier, Marchand, Parent, Gouin.

APPENDIX B

ANNO TRIGESIMO

VICTORIA REGINÆ

CAP. III.

An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the government thereof, and for purposes connected therewith.

March 29th, 1867.

Whereas the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united into one dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom ;

And whereas such a union would conduce to the welfare of the provinces and promote the interests of the British Empire ;

And whereas on the establishment of the union by authority of parliament it is expedient, not only that the constitution of the legislative authority in the Dominion be provided for, but also that the nature of the executive government therein be declared ;

And whereas it is expedient that provision be made for the eventual admission into the union of other parts of British North America ;

Be it therefore enacted and declared by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :

I.—Preliminary.

1. This Act may be cited as the British North America Act, 1867.

2. The provisions of this Act referring to Her Majesty the Queen extend also to the heirs and successors of Her Majesty, kings and queens of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

II.—Union.

3. It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, to declare by proclamation that, on and after a day therein appointed, not being more

than six months after the passing of this Act, the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall form and be one dominion under the name of Canada; and on and after that day those three provinces shall form and be one dominion under that name accordingly.

4. The subsequent provisions of this Act shall, unless it is otherwise expressed or implied, commence and have effect on and after the union, that is to say, on and after the day appointed for the union taking effect in the Queen's proclamation; and in the same provisions, unless it is otherwise expressed or implied, the name Canada shall be taken to mean Canada as constituted under this Act.

5. Canada shall be divided into four provinces, named Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

6. The parts of the Province of Canada (as it exists at the passing of this Act) which formerly constituted respectively the provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada shall be deemed to be severed, and shall form two separate provinces. The part which formerly constituted the Province of Upper Canada shall constitute the Province of Ontario; and the part which formerly constituted the Province of Lower Canada shall constitute the Province of Quebec.

7. The provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall have the same limits as at the passing of this Act.

8. In the general census of the population of Canada which is hereby required to be taken in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and in every tenth year thereafter, the respective populations of the four provinces shall be distinguished.

III.—Executive Power.

9. The executive government and authority of and over Canada is hereby declared to continue and be vested in the Queen.

10. The provisions of this Act referring to the Governor-General extend and apply to the Governor-General for the time being of Canada, or other the chief executive officer or administrator for the time being carrying on the government of Canada on behalf and in the name of the Queen, by whatever title he is designated.

11. There shall be a council to aid and advise the Government of Canada, to be styled the Queen's Privy Council for Canada; and the persons who are to be members of that council shall be from time to time chosen and summoned by the Governor-General and sworn in as

Privy Councillors, and members thereof may be from time to time removed by the Governor-General.

12. All powers, authorities, and functions which under any Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or of the Legislature of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Canada, Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, are at the union vested in or exercisable by the respective governors or lieutenant-governors of those provinces, with the advice, or with the advice and consent, of the respective Executive Councils thereof, or in conjunction with those councils, or with any number of members thereof, or by those governors or lieutenant-governors individually, shall, as far as the same continue in existence and capable of being exercised after the union in relation to the government of Canada, be vested in and exercisable by the Governor-General, with the advice or with the advice and consent of, or in conjunction with the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, or any members thereof, or by the Governor-General individually, as the case requires, subject nevertheless (except with respect to such as exist under Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland) to be abolished or altered by the Parliament of Canada.

13. The provisions of this Act referring to the Governor-General in Council shall be construed as referring to the Governor-General acting by and with the advice of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada.

14. It shall be lawful for the Queen, if Her Majesty thinks fit, to authorize the Governor-General from time to time to appoint any person or any persons jointly or severally to be his deputy or deputies within any part or parts of Canada, and in that capacity to exercise during the pleasure of the Governor-General such of the powers, authorities, and functions of the Governor-General as the Governor-General deems it necessary or expedient to assign to him or them, subject to any limitations or directions expressed or given by the Queen; but the appointment of such a deputy or deputies shall not affect the exercise by the Governor-General himself of any power, authority, and function.

15. The commander-in-chief of the land and naval militia, and of all naval and military forces, of and in Canada, is hereby declared to continue and be vested in the Queen.

16. Until the Queen otherwise directs, the seat of government of Canada shall be Ottawa.

IV.—Legislative Power.

17. There shall be one parliament for Canada, consisting of the Queen, an Upper House, styled the Senate, and the House of Commons.

18. The privileges, immunities, and powers to be held, enjoyed, and exercised by the Senate and by the House of Commons and by the members thereof respectively shall be such as are from time to time defined by Act of the Parliament of Canada, but so that the same shall never exceed those at the passing of this Act held, enjoyed, and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and by the members thereof.

19. The Parliament of Canada shall be called together not later than six months after the union.

20. There shall be a session of the Parliament of Canada once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the parliament in one session and its first sitting in the next session.

The Senate.

21. The Senate shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, consist of seventy-two members, who shall be styled Senators.

22. In relation to the constitution of the Senate, Canada shall be deemed to consist of three divisions:

(1) Ontario;

(2) Quebec;

(3) The Maritime Provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; which three divisions shall (subject to the provisions of this Act) be equally represented in the Senate as follows: Ontario by twenty-four Senators; Quebec by twenty-four Senators; and the Maritime Provinces by twenty-four Senators, twelve thereof representing Nova Scotia and twelve thereof representing New Brunswick.

In the case of Quebec each of the twenty-four Senators representing that province shall be appointed for one of the twenty-four electoral divisions of Lower Canada specified in Schedule A to Chapter One of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada.

23. The qualifications of a Senator shall be as follows:

(1) He shall be of the full age of thirty years;

(2) He shall be either a natural-born subject of the Queen, or a subject of the Queen naturalized by an Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or of the legislature of one of the provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Canada, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, before the union, or of the Parliament of Canada after the union ;

(3) He shall be legally or equitably seized as of freehold for his own use and benefit of lands or tenements held in free and common socage, or seized or possessed for his own use and benefit of lands or tenements held in franc-alleu or in roture, within the province for which he is appointed, of the value of four thousand dollars, over and above all rents, dues, debts, charges, mortgages, and incumbrances, due or payable out of or charged on or affecting the same ;

(4) His real and personal property shall be together worth four thousand dollars over and above his debts and liabilities ;

(5) He shall be resident in the province for which he is appointed;

(6) In the case of Quebec he shall have his real property qualification in the electoral division for which he is appointed, or shall be resident in that division.

24. The Governor-General shall from time to time, in the Queen's name, by instrument under the great seal of Canada, summon qualified persons to the Senate ; and, subject to the provisions of this Act, every person so summoned shall become and be a member of the Senate and a Senator.

25. Such persons shall be first summoned to the Senate, as the Queen by warrant under Her Majesty's royal sign manual thinks fit to approve, and their names shall be inserted in the Queen's proclamation of union.

26. If at any time on the recommendation of the Governor-General the Queen thinks fit to direct that three or six members be added to the Senate, the Governor-General may by summons to three or six qualified persons (as the case may be), representing equally the three divisions of Canada, add to the Senate accordingly.

27. In case of such addition being at any time made, the Governor-General shall not summon any person to the Senate, except on a further like direction by the Queen on the like recommendation, until

each of the three divisions of Canada is represented by twenty-four Senators and no more.

28. The number of Senators shall not at any time exceed seventy-eight.

29. A Senator shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, hold his place in the Senate for life.

30. A Senator may, by writing under his hand, addressed to the Governor-General, resign his place in the Senate, and thereupon the same shall be vacant.

31. The place of a Senator shall become vacant in any of the following cases:

(1) If for two consecutive sessions of the Parliament he fails to give his attendance in the Senate;

(2) If he takes an oath or makes a declaration or acknowledgment of allegiance, obedience or adherence to a foreign power, or does an act whereby he becomes a subject or citizen, or entitled to the rights or privileges of a subject or citizen of a foreign power;

(3) If he is adjudged bankrupt or insolvent, or applies for the benefit of any law relating to insolvent debtors, or becomes a public defaulter;

(4) If he is attainted of treason, or convicted of felony or of any infamous crime;

(5) If he ceases to be qualified in respect of property or of residence; provided that a Senator shall not be deemed to have ceased to be qualified in respect of residence by reason only of his residing at the seat of the Government of Canada while holding an office under that Government requiring his presence there.

32. When a vacancy happens in the Senate, by resignation, death or otherwise, the Governor-General shall, by summons to a fit and qualified person, fill the vacancy.

33. If any question arises respecting the qualification of a Senator or a vacancy in the Senate the same shall be heard and determined by the Senate.

34. The Governor-General may from time to time, by instrument under the great seal of Canada, appoint a Senator to be Speaker of the Senate, and may remove him and appoint another in his stead.

35. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, the presence of at least fifteen Senators, including the Speaker, shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Senate for the exercise of its powers.

36. Questions arising in the Senate shall be decided by a majority of voices, and the Speaker shall in all cases have a vote, and when the voices are equal the decision shall be deemed to be in the negative.

The House of Commons.

37. The House of Commons shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, consist of one hundred and eighty-one members, of whom eighty-two shall be elected for Ontario, sixty-five for Quebec, nineteen for Nova Scotia, and fifteen for New Brunswick.

38. The Governor-General shall from time to time, in the Queen's name, by instrument under the great seal of Canada, summon and call together the House of Commons.

39. A Senator shall not be capable of being elected or of sitting or voting as a member of the House of Commons.

40. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall, for the purposes of the election of members to serve in the House of Commons, be divided into electoral districts as follows:

1.—Ontario.

Ontario shall be divided into the counties, ridings of counties, cities, parts of cities and towns enumerated in the first schedule to this Act, each whereof shall be an electoral district, each such district as numbered in that schedule being entitled to return one member.

2.—Quebec.

Quebec shall be divided into sixty-five electoral districts, composed of the sixty-five electoral divisions into which Lower Canada is at the passing of this Act divided under Chapter Two of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada, Chapter Seventy-five of the Consolidated Statutes for Lower Canada, and the Act of the Province of Canada of the twenty-third year of the Queen, Chapter One, or any other Act amending the same in force at the union, so that each such electoral division shall be for the purposes of this Act an electoral district entitled to return one member.

3.—Nova Scotia.

Each of the eighteen counties of Nova Scotia shall be an electoral district. The County of Halifax shall be entitled to return two members, and each of the other counties one member.

4.—New Brunswick.

Each of the fourteen counties into which New Brunswick is divided, including the City and County of St. John, shall be an electoral district. The City of St. John shall also be a separate electoral district. Each of those fifteen electoral districts shall be entitled to return one member.

41. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, all laws in force in the several provinces at the union relative to the following matters or any of them, namely, the qualifications and disqualifications of persons to be elected or to sit or vote as members of the House of Assembly or Legislative Assembly in the several provinces, the voters at elections of such members, the oaths to be taken by voters, the returning officers, their powers and duties, the proceedings at elections, the periods during which elections may be continued, the trial of controverted elections and proceedings incident thereto, the vacating of seats of members, and the execution of new writs in case of seats vacated otherwise than by dissolution,—shall respectively apply to elections of members to serve in the House of Commons for the same several provinces.

Provided that until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, at any election for a member of the House of Commons for the District of Algoma, in addition to persons qualified by the law of the Province of Canada to vote, every male British subject, aged twenty-one years or upwards, being a householder, shall have a vote.

42. For the first election of members to serve in the House of Commons the Governor-General shall cause writs to be issued by such person, in such form, and addressed to such returning officers as he thinks fit.

The person issuing writs under this section shall have the like powers as are possessed at the union by the officers charged with the issuing of writs for the election of members to serve in the respective House of Assembly or Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick; and the returning officers

to whom writs are directed under this section shall have the like powers as are possessed at the union by the officers charged with the returning of writs for the election of members to serve in the same respective House of Assembly or Legislative Assembly.

43. In case a vacancy in the representation in the House of Commons of any electoral district happens before the meeting of the parliament, or after the meeting of the parliament before provision is made by the parliament in this behalf, the provisions of the last foregoing section of this Act shall extend and apply to the issuing and returning of a writ in respect of such vacant district.

44. The House of Commons on its first assembling after a general election shall proceed with all practical speed to elect one of its members to be Speaker.

45. In case of a vacancy happening in the office of Speaker by death, resignation, or otherwise, the House of Commons shall, with all practicable speed proceed to elect another of its members to be Speaker.

46. The Speaker shall preside at all meetings of the House of Commons.

47. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, in case of the absence for any reason of the Speaker from the chair of the House of Commons for a period of forty-eight consecutive hours, the House may elect another of its members to act as Speaker, and the member so elected shall during the continuance of such absence of the Speaker have and execute all the powers, privileges and duties of Speaker.

48. The presence of at least twenty members of the House of Commons shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the House for the exercise of its powers; and for that purpose the Speaker shall be reckoned as a member.

49. Questions arising in the House of Commons shall be decided by a majority of voices other than that of the Speaker, and when the voices are equal, but not otherwise, the Speaker shall have a vote.

50. Every House of Commons shall continue for five years from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the House (subject to be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General), and no longer.

51. On the completion of the census in the year One thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and of each subsequent decennial

census, the representation of the four provinces shall be readjusted by such authority, in such manner, and from such time, as the Parliament of Canada from time to time provides, subject and according to the following rules :

(1) Quebec shall have the fixed number of sixty-five members ;

(2) There shall be assigned to each of the other provinces such a number of members as will bear the same proportion to the number of its population (ascertained at such census) as the number of sixty-five bears to the number of the population of Quebec (so ascertained) ;

(3) In the computation of the number of members for a province a fractional part not exceeding one-half of the whole number requisite for entitling the province to a member shall be disregarded ; but a fractional part exceeding one-half of that number shall be equivalent to the whole number;

(4) On any such re-adjustment the number of members for a province shall not be reduced unless the proportion which the number of the population of the province bore to the number of the aggregate population of Canada at the then last preceding re-adjustment of the number of members for the province is ascertained at the then latest census to be diminished by one-twentieth part or upwards;

(5) Such re-adjustment shall not take effect until the termination of the then existing parliament.

52. The number of members of the House of Commons may be from time to time increased by the Parliament of Canada, provided the proportionate representation of the provinces prescribed by this Act is not thereby disturbed.

Money Votes; Royal Assent.

53. Bills for appropriating any part of the public revenue, or for imposing any tax or impost, shall originate in the House of Commons.

54. It shall not be lawful for the House of Commons to adopt or pass any vote, resolution, address, or bill for the appropriation of any part of the public revenue, or of any tax or impost, to any purpose that has not been first recommended to that House by message of the Governor-General in the session, in which such vote, resolution, address, or bill is proposed.

55. Where a bill passed by the Houses of the Parliament is

presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent, he shall declare, according to his discretion, but subject to the provisions of this Act and to Her Majesty's instructions, either that he assents thereto in the Queen's name, or that he withholds the Queen's assent, or that he reserves the bill for the signification of the Queen's pleasure.

56. Where the Governor-General assents to a bill in the Queen's name, he shall by the first convenient opportunity send an authentic copy of the Act to one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and if the Queen in Council within two years after receipt thereof by the Secretary of State thinks fit to disallow the Act, such disallowance (with a certificate of the Secretary of State of the day on which the Act was received by him) being signified by the Governor-General, by speech or message to each of the Houses of the Parliament or by proclamation, shall annul the Act from and after the day of such signification.

57. A bill reserved for the signification of the Queen's pleasure shall not have any force unless and until within two years from the day on which it was presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent, the Governor-General signifies, by speech or message to each of the Houses of the Parliament or by proclamation, that it has received the assent of the Queen in Council.

An entry of every such speech, message, or proclamation shall be made in the Journal of each House, and a duplicate thereof duly attested shall be delivered to the proper officer to be kept among the Records of Canada.

V.—Provincial Constitutions.

Executive Power.

58. For each province there shall be an officer, styled the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General in Council by instrument under the great seal of Canada.

59. A Lieutenant-Governor shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor-General; but any Lieutenant-Governor appointed after the commencement of the first session of the Parliament of Canada shall not be removable within five years from his appointment, except for cause assigned, which shall be communicated to him in writing within one month after the order for his removal is made, and shall be communicated by message to the Senate and to the House

of Commons within one week thereafter if the parliament is then sitting, and if not then within one week after the commencement of the next session of the parliament.

60. The salaries of the Lieutenant-Governors shall be fixed and provided by the Parliament of Canada.

61. Every Lieutenant-Governor shall, before assuming the duties of his office, make and subscribe before the Governor-General or some person authorized by him, oaths of allegiance and office similar to those taken by the Governor-General.

62. The provisions of this Act referring to the Lieutenant-Governor extend and apply to the Lieutenant-Governor for the time being of each province or other the chief executive officer or administrator for the time being carrying on the government of the province, by whatsoever title he is designated.

63. The Executive Council of Ontario and of Quebec shall be composed of such persons as the Lieutenant-Governor from time to time thinks fit, and in the first instance of the following officers, namely, the Attorney-General, the Secretary and Registrar of the province, the Treasurer of the province, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, with, in Quebec, the Speaker of the Legislative Council and the Solicitor-General.

64. The constitution of the executive authority in each of the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, continue as it exists at the union until altered under the authority of this Act.

65. All powers, authorities, and functions which under any Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or of the Legislature of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, or Canada, were or are before or at the union vested in or exercisable by the respective Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of those provinces, with the advice, or with the advice and consent, of the respective Executive Councils thereof or in conjunction with those Councils or with any number of members thereof, or by those Governors or Lieutenant-Governors individually, shall, as far as the same are capable of being exercised after the union in relation to the Government of Ontario and Quebec respectively, be vested in and shall or may be exercised

by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario and Quebec respectively, with the advice or with the advice and consent of or in conjunction with the respective Executive Councils or any members thereof, or by the Lieutenant-Governor individually, as the case requires, subject nevertheless (except with respect to such as exist under Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland), to be abolished or altered by the respective Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec.

66. The provisions of this Act referring to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall be construed as referring to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province acting by and with the advice of the Executive Council thereof.

67. The Governor-General in Council may from time to time appoint an administrator to execute the office and functions of Lieutenant-Governor during his absence, illness, or other inability.

68. Unless and until the Executive Government of any province otherwise directs with respect to that province, the seats of government of the provinces shall be as follows, namely: of Ontario, the City of Toronto; of Quebec, the City of Quebec; of Nova Scotia, the City of Halifax; and of New Brunswick, the City of Fredericton.

Legislative Power.

1.—ONTARIO.

69. There shall be a legislature for Ontario consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and of one House, styled the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

70. The Legislative Assembly of Ontario shall be composed of eighty-two members, to be elected to represent the eighty-two electoral districts set forth in the first schedule of this Act.

2.—QUEBEC.

71. There shall be a legislature for Quebec consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and of two Houses, styled the Legislative Council of Quebec and the Legislative Assembly of Quebec.

72. The Legislative Council of Quebec shall be composed of twenty-four members, to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in the Queen's name by instrument under the great seal of Quebec, one being appointed to represent each of the twenty-four electoral divisions of Lower Canada in this Act referred to, and each holding

office for the term of his life, unless the Legislature of Quebec otherwise provides under the provisions of this Act.

73. The qualifications of the Legislative Councillors of Quebec shall be the same as those of the Senators for Quebec.

74. The place of a Legislative Councillor of Quebec shall become vacant in the cases, *mutatis mutandis*, in which the place of Senator becomes vacant.

75. When a vacancy happens in the Legislative Council of Quebec by resignation, death, or otherwise, the Lieutenant-Governor, in the Queen's name, by instrument under the great seal of Quebec, shall appoint a fit and qualified person to fill the vacancy.

76. If any question arises respecting the qualification of a Legislative Councillor of Quebec, or a vacancy in the Legislative Council of Quebec, the same shall be heard and determined by the Legislative Council.

77. The Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time, by instrument under the great seal of Quebec, appoint a member of the Legislative Council of Quebec to be Speaker thereof, and may remove him and appoint another in his stead.

78. Until the Legislature of Quebec otherwise provides, the presence of at least ten members of the Legislative Council, including the Speaker, shall be necessary to constitute a meeting for the exercise of its powers.

79. Questions arising in the Legislative Council of Quebec shall be decided by a majority of voices, and the Speaker shall in all cases have a vote, and when the voices are equal the decision shall be deemed to be in the negative.

80. The Legislative Assembly of Quebec shall be composed of sixty-five members, to be elected to represent the sixty-five electoral divisions or districts of Lower Canada in this Act referred to, subject to alterations thereof by the Legislature of Quebec: Provided that it shall not be lawful to present to the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec for assent any bill for altering the limits of any of the electoral divisions or districts mentioned in the second schedule to this Act, unless the second and third readings of such bill have been passed in the Legislative Assembly with the concurrence of the majority of the members representing all those electoral divisions or districts, and the assent shall not be given to such bill unless an address has been

presented by the Legislative Assembly to the Lieutenant-Governor stating that it has been so passed.

3.—Ontario and Quebec.

81. The Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec respectively shall be called together not later than six months after the union.

82. The Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario and of Quebec shall from time to time, in the Queen's name, by instrument under the great seal of the province, summon and call together the Legislative Assembly of the province.

83. Until the Legislature of Ontario or of Quebec otherwise provides, a person accepting or holding in Ontario or in Quebec any office, commission, or employment permanent or temporary, at the nomination of the Lieutenant-Governor, to which an annual salary, or any fee, allowance, emolument or profit of any kind or amount whatever from the province is attached, shall not be eligible as a member of the Legislative Assembly of the respective province, nor shall he sit or vote as such ; but nothing in this section shall make ineligible any person being a member of the Executive Council of the respective province, or holding any of the following offices, that is to say, the offices of Attorney-General, Secretary and Registrar of the province, Treasurer of the province, Commissioner of Crown Lands and Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, and in Quebec Solicitor-General, or shall disqualify him to sit or vote in the House for which he is elected, provided he is elected while holding such office.

84. Until the legislatures of Ontario and Quebec respectively otherwise provide, all laws which at the union are in force in those provinces respectively, relative to the following matters, or any of them, namely,—the qualifications and disqualifications of persons to be elected or to sit or vote as members of the Assembly of Canada, the qualifications or disqualifications of voters, the oaths to be taken by voters, the returning officers, their powers and duties, the proceedings at elections, the periods during which such elections may be continued, and the trial of controverted elections and the proceedings incident thereto, the vacating of the seats of members, and the issuing and execution of new writs in case of seats vacated otherwise than by dissolution, shall respectively apply to elections of members to serve in the respective Legislative Assemblies of Ontario and Quebec.

Provided that until the Legislature of Ontario otherwise provides, at any election for a member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario for the District of Algoma, in addition to persons qualified by the law of the Province of Canada to vote, every male British subject, aged twenty-one years or upwards, being a householder, shall have a vote.

85. Every Legislative Assembly of Ontario and every Legislative Assembly of Quebec shall continue for four years from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the same (subject, nevertheless, to either the Legislative Assembly of Ontario or the Legislative Assembly of Quebec being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor of the province), and no longer.

86. There shall be a session of the Legislature of Ontario and of that of Quebec once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the legislature in each province in one session and its first sitting in the next session.

87. The following provisions of this Act respecting the House of Commons of Canada shall extend and apply to the Legislative Assemblies of Ontario and Quebec, that is to say,—the provisions relating to the election of a Speaker originally and on vacancies, the duties of the Speaker, the absence of the Speaker, the quorum, and the mode of voting, as if those provisions were here re-enacted and made applicable in terms to each such Legislative Assembly.

4.—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

88. The constitution of the legislature of each of the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, continue as it exists at the union until altered under the authority of this Act; and the House of Assembly of New Brunswick existing at the passing of this Act shall, unless sooner dissolved, continue for the period for which it was elected.

5.—Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia.

89. Each of the Lieutenant-Governors of Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia, shall cause writs to be issued for the first election of members of the Legislative Assembly thereof in such form and by such person as he thinks fit, and at such time, and addressed to such returning officer as the Governor-General directs, and so that the first election of member of Assembly for any electoral district or any

sub-division thereof shall be held at the same time and at the same places as the election for a member to serve in the House of Commons of Canada for that electoral district.

6.—The Four Provinces.

90. The following provisions of this Act respecting the Parliament of Canada, namely, the provisions relating to appropriation and tax bills, the recommendation of money votes, the assent to bills, the disallowance of Acts, and the signification of pleasure on bills reserved, shall extend and apply to the legislatures of the several provinces as if those provisions were here re-enacted and made applicable in terms to the respective provinces and the legislatures thereof, with the substitution of the Lieutenant-Governor of the province for the Governor-General, of the Governor-General for the Queen and for a Secretary of State, of one year for two years, and of the province for for Canada.

VI.—Distribution of Legislative Powers.

Powers of the Parliament.

91. It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada, in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces; and for greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing terms of this section, it is hereby declared that (notwithstanding anything in this Act) the exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects next hereinafter enumerated, that is to say:

1. The public debt and property.
2. The regulation of trade and commerce.
3. The raising of money by any mode or system of taxation.
4. The borrowing of money on the public credit.
5. Postal service.
6. The census and statistics.
7. Militia, military and naval service, and defence.
8. The fixing of and providing for the salaries and allowances of Civil and other officers of the Government of Canada.
9. Beacons, buoys, lighthouses, and Sable Island.
10. Navigation and shipping.

11. Quarantine, and the establishment and maintenance of marine hospitals.
12. Sea coast and inland fisheries.
13. Ferries between a province and any British or foreign country or between two provinces.
14. Currency and coinage.
15. Banking, incorporation of banks, and the issue of paper money.
16. Savings banks.
17. Weights and measures.
18. Bills of exchange and promissory notes.
19. Interest.
20. Legal tender.
21. Bankruptcy and insolvency.
22. Patents of invention and discovery.
23. Copyrights.
24. Indians, and lands reserved for the Indians.
25. Naturalization and aliens.
26. Marriage and divorce.
27. The criminal law, except the constitution of courts of criminal jurisdiction, but including the procedure in criminal matters.
28. The establishment, maintenance and management of penitentiaries.
29. Such classes of subjects as are expressly excepted in the enumeration of the classes of subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces.

And any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section shall not be deemed to come within the class of matters of a local or private nature comprised in the enumeration of the classes of subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces.

Exclusive Powers of Provincial Legislatures.

92. In each province the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to matters coming within the classes of subjects next hereinafter enumerated, that is to say:

1. The amendment from time to time, notwithstanding anything in this Act, of the constitution of the province, except as regards the office of Lieutenant-Governor.

2. Direct taxation within the province in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial purposes.
3. The borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province.
4. The establishment and tenure of provincial offices and the appointment and payment of provincial officers.
5. The management and sale of the public lands belonging to the province, and of the timber and wood thereon.
6. The establishment, maintenance, and management of public and reformatory prisons in and for the province.
7. The establishment, maintenance, and management of hospitals, asylums, charities, and eleemosynary institutions in and for the province, other than marine hospitals.
8. Municipal institutions in the province.
9. Shop, saloon, tavern, auctioneer, and other licenses in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial, local, or municipal purposes.
10. Local works and undertakings, other than such as are of the following classes :

(*a*) Lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, telegraphs, and other works and undertakings connecting the province with any other or others of the provinces, or extending beyond the limits of the province :

(*b*) Lines of steamships between the province and any British or foreign country :

(*c*) Such works as, although wholly situate within the province, are before or after their execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada or for the advantage of two or more of the provinces.

11. The incorporation of companies with provincial objects.
12. The solemnization of marriage in the province.
13. Property and civil rights in the province.
14. The administration of justice in the province, including the constitution, maintenance, and organization of provincial courts, both of civil and of criminal jurisdiction, and including procedure in civil matters in those courts.
15. The imposition of punishment by fine, penalty, or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the province made in relation to any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section.

16. Generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the province.

Education.

93. In and for each province the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:

1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the union;
2. All the powers, privileges, and duties at the union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects, shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec;
3. Where in any province a system of Separate or Dissentient schools exists by law at the union or is thereafter established by the legislature of the province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education;
4. In case any such provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section.

Uniformity of Laws in Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

94. Notwithstanding anything in this Act, the Parliament of Canada may make provision for the uniformity of all or any of the laws relative to property and civil rights in Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and of the procedure of all or any of the courts in

those three provinces, and from and after the passing of any Act in that behalf the power of the Parliament of Canada to make laws in relation to any matter comprised in any such Act shall, notwithstanding anything in this Act, be unrestricted; but any Act of the Parliament of Canada making provision for such uniformity shall not have effect in any province unless and until it is adopted and enacted as law by the legislature thereof.

Agriculture and Immigration.

95. In each province the legislature may make laws in relation to agriculture in the province, and to immigration into the province; and it is hereby declared that the Parliament of Canada may from time to time make laws in relation to agriculture in all or any of the provinces, and to immigration into all or any of the provinces; and any law of the legislature of a province relative to agriculture or to immigration shall have effect in and for the province as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any Act of the Parliament of Canada.

VII.—JUDICATURE.

96. The Governor-General shall appoint the judges of the superior, district and county courts in each province, except those of the courts of probate in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

97. Until the laws relative to property and civil rights in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and the procedure of the courts in those provinces are made uniform, the judges of the courts of those provinces appointed by the Governor-General shall be selected from the respective bars of those provinces.

98. The judges of the courts of Quebec shall be selected from the bar of that province.

99. The judges of the superior courts shall hold office during good behaviour, but shall be removable by the Governor-General on address of the Senate and House of Commons.

100. The salaries, allowances, and pensions of the judges of the superior, district and county courts (except the courts of probate in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), and of the Admiralty courts in cases where the judges thereof are for the time being paid by salary, shall be fixed and provided by the Parliament of Canada.

101. The Parliament of Canada may, notwithstanding anything in this Act, from time to time provide for the constitution, maintenance and organization of a general Court of Appeal for Canada, and for the establishment of any additional courts for the better administration of the laws of Canada.

VIII.—Revenues, Debts, Assets, Taxation.

102. All duties and revenues over which the respective legislatures of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick before and at the union had and have power of appropriation, except such portions thereof as are by this Act reserved to the respective legislatures of the provinces, or are raised by them in accordance with the special powers conferred on them by this Act, shall form one consolidated revenue fund, to be appropriated for the public service of Canada in the manner and subject to the charges in this Act provided.

103. The Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada shall be permanently charged with the costs, charges and expenses incident to the collection, management, and receipt thereof, and the same shall form the first charge thereon, subject to be reviewed and audited in such manner as shall be ordered by the Governor-General in Council until the parliament otherwise provides.

104. The annual interest of the public debts of the several provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick at the union shall form the second charge on the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

105. Unless altered by the Parliament of Canada, the salary of the Governor-General shall be ten thousand pounds sterling money of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, payable out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada, and the same shall form the third charge thereon.

106. Subject to the several payments by this Act charged on the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada, the same shall be appropriated by the Parliament of Canada for the public service.

107. All stocks, cash, bankers' balances, and securities for money belonging to each province at the time of the union, except as in this Act mentioned, shall be the property of Canada, and shall be taken in reduction of the amount of the respective debts of the provinces at the union.

108. The public works and property of each province enumerated in the third schedule to this Act, shall be the property of Canada.

109. All lands, mines, minerals, and royalties belonging to the several provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick at the union, and all sums then due or payable for such lands, mines, minerals, or royalties, shall belong to the several provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in which the same are situate or arise, subject to any trusts existing in respect thereof, and to any interest other than that of the province in the same.

110. All assets connected with such portions of the public debt of each province as are assumed by that province shall belong to that province.

111. Canada shall be liable for the debts and liabilities of each province existing at the union.

112. Ontario and Quebec conjointly shall be liable to Canada for the amount (if any) by which the debt of the Province of Canada exceeds at the union sixty-two million five hundred thousand dollars, and shall be charged with interest at the rate of five per centum per annum thereon.

113. The assets enumerated in the fourth schedule of this Act, belonging at the union to the Province of Canada, shall be the property of Ontario and Quebec conjointly.

114. Nova Scotia shall be liable to Canada for the amount (if any) by which its public debt exceeds at the union eight million dollars, and shall be charged with interest at the rate of five per centum per annum thereon.

115. New Brunswick shall be liable to Canada for the amount (if any) by which its public debt exceeds at the union seven million dollars, and shall be charged with interest at the rate of five per centum per annum thereon.

116. In case the public debts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick do not at the union amount to eight million and seven million dollars respectively, they shall respectively receive, by half-yearly payments in advance from the Government of Canada, interest at five per centum per annum on the difference between the actual amounts of their respective debts and such stipulated amounts.

117. The several provinces shall retain all their respective public property not otherwise disposed of in this Act, subject to the right of

Canada to assume any lands or public property required for fortifications or for the defence of the country.

118. The following sums shall be paid yearly by Canada to the several provinces for the support of their governments and legislatures:

Ontario	$80,000 00
Quebec	70,000 00
Nova Scotia	60,000 00
New Brunswick	50,000 00
	$260,000 00

and an annual grant in aid of each province shall be made, equal to eighty cents per head of the population as ascertained by the census of one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and in the case of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, by each subsequent decennial census until the population of each of these two provinces amounts to four hundred thousand souls, at which rate such grant shall thereafter remain. Such grants shall be in full settlement of all future demands on Canada, and shall be paid half-yearly in advance to each province; but the Government of Canada shall deduct from such grants, as against any province, all sums chargeable as interest on the public debt of that province in excess of the several amounts stipulated in this Act.

119. New Brunswick shall receive, by half-yearly payments in advance from Canada, for the period of ten years from the union, an additional allowance of sixty-three thousand dollars per annum; but as long as the public debt of that province remains under seven million dollars, a deduction equal to the interest at five per centum per annum on such deficiency shall be made from that allowance of sixty-three thousand dollars.

120. All payments to be made under this Act, or in discharge of liabilities created under any Act of the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick respectively, and assumed by Canada, shall, until the Parliament of Canada otherwise directs, be made in such form and manner as may from time to time be ordered by the Governor-General in Council.

121. All articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any one of the provinces shall, from and after the union, be admitted free into each of the other provinces.

122. The Customs and Excise laws of each province shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, continue in force until altered by the Parliament of Canada.

123. Where Customs duties are, at the union, leviable on any goods, wares, or merchandises in any two provinces, those goods, wares, and merchandises may, from and after the union, be imported from one of those provinces into the other of them on proof of payment of the Customs duty leviable thereon in the province of exportation, and on payment of such further amount (if any) of Customs duty as is leviable thereon in the province of importation.

124. Nothing in this Act shall affect the right of New Brunswick to levy the lumber dues provided in Chapter Fifteen of title three of the Revised Statutes of New Brunswick, or in any Act amending that Act before or after the union, and not increasing the amount of such dues; but the lumber of any of the provinces other than New Brunswick shall not be subject to such duties.

125. No lands or property belonging to Canada or any province shall be liable to taxation.

126. Such portions of the duties and revenues over which the respective legislatures of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, had before the union, power of appropriation, as are by this Act reserved to the respective governments or legislatures of the provinces, and all duties and revenues raised by them in accordance with the special powers conferred upon them by this Act, shall in each province form one consolidated revenue fund to be appropriated for the public service of the province.

IX.—Miscellaneous Provisions.

General.

127. If any person being at the passing of this Act a member of the Legislative Council of Canada, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, to whom a place in the Senate is offered, does not within thirty days thereafter, by writing under his hand addressed to the Governor-General of the Province of Canada or to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick (as the case may be), accept the same, he shall be deemed to have declined the same; and any person who, being at the passing of this Act a member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, accepts a place in the Senate shall thereby vacate his seat in such Legislative Council.

128. Every member of the Senate or House of Commons of Canada shall, before taking his seat therein, take and subscribe before the Governor-General or some person authorized by him, and every member of a Legislative Council or Legislative Assembly of any province shall, before taking his seat therein, take and subscribe before the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, or some person authorized by him, the oath of allegiance contained in the fifth schedule to this Act; and every member of the Senate of Canada and every member of the Legislative Council of Quebec shall also, before taking his seat therein, take and subscribe before the Governor-General, or some person authorized by him, the declaration of qualification contained in the same schedule.

129. Except as otherwise provided by this Act, all laws in force in Canada, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick at the union, and all courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all legal commissions, powers, and authorities, and all officers, judicial, administrative, and ministerial, existing therein at the union, shall continue in Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick respectively, as if the union had not been made; subject nevertheless (except with respect to such as are enacted by or exist under Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain or of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland), to be repealed, abolished, or altered by the Parliament of Canada, or by the legislature of the respective province, according to the authority of the parliament or of that legislature under this Act.

130. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, all officers of the several provinces having duties to discharge in relation to matters other than those coming within the classes of subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces, shall be officers of Canada, and shall continue to discharge the duties of their respective offices under the same liabilities, responsibilities and penalties, as if the union had not been made.

131. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, the Governor-General in Council may from time to time appoint such officers as the Governor-General in Council deems necessary or proper for the effectual execution of this Act.

132. The Parliament and Government of Canada shall have all powers necessary or proper for performing the obligations of Canada or of any province thereof, as part of the British Empire, towards

foreign countries, arising under treaties between the Empire and such foreign countries.

133. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of those Houses; and either of those languages may be used by any person or in any pleading or process in or issuing from any court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the courts of Quebec.

The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those languages.

Ontario and Quebec.

134. Until the Legislature of Ontario or of Quebec otherwise provides, the Lieutenant-Governors of Ontario and Quebec may each appoint, under the great seal of the province, the following officers, to hold office during pleasure, that is to say,—the Attorney-General, the Secretary and Registrar of the province, the Treasurer of the province, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, and, in the case of Quebec, the Solicitor-General; and may, by order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, from time to time prescribe the duties of those officers and of the several departments over which they shall preside or to which they shall belong, and of the officers and clerks thereof, and may also appoint other and additional officers to hold office during pleasure, and may from time to time prescribe the duties of those officers, and of the several departments over which they shall preside or to which they shall belong, and of the officers and clerks thereof.

135. Until the Legislature of Ontario or Quebec otherwise provides, all rights, powers, duties, functions, responsibilities, or authorities at the passing of this Act vested in or imposed on the Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Secretary and Registrar of the Province of Canada, Minister of Finance, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Commissioner of Public Works, and Minister of Agriculture and Receiver-General, by any law, statute, or ordinance of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, or Canada, and not repugnant to this Act, shall be vested in or imposed on any officer to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor for the discharge of the same or any of them; and the

Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works shall perform the duties and functions of the office of Minister of Agriculture at the passing of this Act imposed by the law of the Province of Canada, as well as those of the Commissioner of Public Works.

136. Until altered by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, the great seals of Ontario and Quebec respectively shall be the same, or of the same design, as those used in the provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada respectively before their union as the Province of Canada.

137. The words "and from thence to the end of the then next ensuing session of the legislature," or words to the same effect, used in any temporary Act of the Province of Canada not expired before the union, shall be construed to extend and apply to the next session of the Parliament of Canada, if the subject matter of the Act is within the powers of the same as defined by this Act, or to the next sessions of the legislatures of Ontario and Quebec respectively, if the subject matter of the Act is within the powers of the same as defined by this Act.

138. From and after the union the use of the words "Upper Canada" instead of "Ontario," or "Lower Canada" instead of "Quebec," in any deed, writ, process, pleading, document, matter or thing, shall not invalidate the same.

139. Any proclamation under the great seal of the Province of Canada issued before the union to take effect at a time which is subsequent to the union, whether relating to that province, or to Upper Canada, or to Lower Canada, and the several matters and things therein proclaimed, shall be and continue of like force and effect as if the union had not been made.

140. Any proclamation which is authorized by any Act of the Legislature of the Province of Canada to be issued under the great seal of the Province of Canada, whether relating to that province, or to Upper Canada, or to Lower Canada, and which is not issued before the union, may be issued by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario or of Quebec, as its subject matter requires, under the great seal thereof; and from and after the issue of such proclamation, the same and the several matters and things therein proclaimed, shall be and continue of the like force and effect in Ontario or Quebec as if the union had not been made.

141. The penitentiary of the Province of Canada shall, until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, be and continue the penitentiary of Ontario and of Quebec.

142. The division and adjustment of the debts, credits, liabilities, properties, and assets of Upper Canada and Lower Canada shall be referred to the arbitrament of three arbitrators, one chosen by the Government of Ontario, one by the Government of Quebec, and one by the Government of Canada; and the selection of the arbitrators shall not be made until the Parliament of Canada and the legislatures of Ontario and Quebec have met; and the arbitrator chosen by the Government of Canada shall not be a resident either in Ontario or in Quebec.

143. The Governor-General in Council may from time to time order that such and so many of the records, books, and documents of the Province of Canada as he thinks fit shall be appropriated and delivered either to Ontario or to Quebec, and the same shall thenceforth be the property of that province; and any copy thereof or extract therefrom, duly certified by the officer having charge of the original thereof, shall be admitted as evidence.

144. The Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec may from time to time, by proclamation under the great seal of the province, to take effect from a day to be appointed therein, constitute townships in those parts of the Province of Quebec in which townships are not then already constituted, and fix the metes and bounds thereof.

X.—Intercolonial Railway.

145. Inasmuch as the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have joined in a declaration that the construction of the Intercolonial Railway is essential to the consolidation of the union of British North America, and to the assent thereto of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and have consequently agreed that provision should be made for its immediate construction by the Government of Canada. Therefore, in order to give effect to that agreement, it shall be the duty of the Government and Parliament of Canada to provide for the commencement, within six months after the union, of a railway connecting the River St. Lawrence with the City of Halifax in Nova Scotia, and for the construction thereof without intermission, and the completion thereof with all practicable speed.

XI.—Admission of Other Colonies.

146. It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, on addresses from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, and from the Houses of the respective legislatures of the colonies or provinces of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia, to admit those colonies or provinces, or any of them, into the union, and on address from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada to admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, or either of them, into the union, on such terms and conditions in each case as are in the addresses expressed and as the Queen thinks fit to approve, subject to the provisions of this Act; and the provisions of any Order in Council in that behalf shall have effect as if they had been enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

147. In case of the admission of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, or either of them, each shall be entitled to a representation in the Senate of Canada of four members, and (notwithstanding anything in this Act) in case of the admission of Newfoundland the normal number of Senators shall be seventy-six and their maximum number shall be eighty-two; but Prince Edward Island when admitted shall be deemed to be comprised in the third of the three divisions into which Canada is, in relation to the constitution of the Senate, divided by this Act, and accordingly, after the admission of Prince Edward Island, whether Newfoundland is admitted or not, the representation of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the Senate shall, as vacancies occur, be reduced from twelve to ten members respectively, and the representation of each of those provinces shall not be increased at any time beyond ten, except under the provisions of this Act for the appointment of three or six additional Senators under the direction of the Queen.

Supplementary.

June 29th, 1871.

Whereas doubts have been entertained respecting the powers of the Parliament of Canada to establish provinces in territories admitted, or which may hereafter be admitted into the Dominion of Canada, and to provide for the representation of such provinces in the said parliament, and it is expedient to remove such doubts, and to vest such powers in the said parliament:

Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and

with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows:

1. This Act may be cited for all purposes as "The British North America Act, 1871."

2. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time establish new provinces in any territories forming for the time being part of the Dominion of Canada, but not included in any province thereof, and may, at the time of such establishment, make provision for the constitution and administration of any such province, and for the passing of laws for the peace, order, and good government of such province, and for its representation in the said parliament.

3. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time, with the consent of the legislature of any province of the said Dominion, increase, diminish, or otherwise alter the limits of such province, upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed to by the said legislature, and may, with the like consent, make provision respecting the effect and operation of any such increase or diminution or alteration of territory in relation to any province affected thereby.

4. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time make provision for the administration, peace, order, and good government of any territory not for the time being included in any province.

5. The following Acts passed by the said Parliament of Canada, and intituled respectively: "An Act for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada," and "An Act to amend and continue the Act thirty-two and thirty-three Victoria, chapter three, and to establish and provide for the government of the Province of Manitoba," shall be and be deemed to have been valid and effectual for all purposes whatsoever from the date at which they respectively received the assent, in the Queen's name, of the Governor-General of the said Dominion of Canada.

6. Except as provided by the third section of this Act, it shall not be competent for the Parliament of Canada to alter the provisions of the last-mentioned Act of the said parliament, in so far as it relates to the Province of Manitoba, or of any other Act hereafter establishing new provinces in the said Dominion, subject always to the right of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba to alter from time to time the provisions of any law respecting the qualification of electors and members of the Legislative Assembly, and to make laws respecting elections in the said province.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

July 19th, 1875.

Whereas by section eighteen of the British North America Act, 1867, it is provided as follows :

"The privileges, immunities and powers to be held, enjoyed and exercised by the Senate and by the House of Commons, and by the members thereof respectively, shall be such as are from time to time defined by Act of the Parliament of Canada, but so that the same shall never exceed those at the passing of this Act held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and by the members thereof."

And whereas doubts have arisen with regard to the power of defining by an Act of the Parliament of Canada, in pursuance of the said section, the said privileges, powers, or immunities ; and it is expedient to remove such doubts :

Be it, therefore, enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :

1. Section eighteen of the British North America Act, 1867, is hereby repealed without prejudice to anything done under that section, and the following section shall be substituted for the section so repealed.

The privileges, immunities and powers to be held, enjoyed and exercised by the Senate and by the House of Commons, and by the members thereof, respectively, shall be such as are from time to time defined by Act of the Parliament of Canada, but so that any Act of the Parliament of Canada defining such privileges, immunities and powers shall not confer any privileges, immunities or power exceeding those at the passing of such Act, held, enjoyed and exercised by the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and by the members thereof.

2. The Act of the Parliament of Canada passed in the thirty-first year of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter twenty-four, intituled "An Act to provide for oaths to witnesses being administered in certain cases for the purposes of either House of Parliament" shall be deemed to be valid, and to have been valid as from the date at which the royal assent was given thereto by the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada.

3. This Act may be cited as "The Parliament of Canada Act, 1875."

APPENDIX C.

CHRONOLOGICAL LANDMARKS IN THE HISTORY OF CANADA.

1497. John Cabot, and his son Sebastian, of Bristol, discovered Newfoundland, Labrador and Nova Scotia.
1517. Sebastian Cabot discovered Hudson's Bay.
1534. Jacques Cartier, from France, discovered the St. Lawrence River, which he named, and which he ascended as far as Hochelaga.
1603. Champlain's first visit to Canada.
1605. The crowns of England and Scotland united under King James. Settlement formed at Annapolis, N.S.
1608. Second visit of Champlain and the founding of Quebec by him.
1611. First Jesuit missionaries to Acadia.
1613. Champlain discovered the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing, French River and Georgian Bay.
1615. Recollet Fathers come to Quebec as missionaries.
1624. Nova Scotia first settled by the English.
1625. Jesuit Fathers arrived at Quebec as missionaries.
1629. Quebec captured by the English.
1632. Quebec, Cape Breton and Acadia restored to France. First school in Canada.
1634. The towns of Three Rivers and Sorel founded.
1635. Lake Michigan discovered by Nicolet. Death of Champlain at Quebec.
1640. Lake Erie discovered by Chaumonot and Brébœuf.
1642. Montreal founded by Maisonneuve.
1647. Lake St. John discovered.
1649. The Hurons destroyed by the Iroquois.
1654. Acadia taken by the English.
1659. M. de Laval, the first bishop arrived. Lake Superior discovered by French traders.
1667. Acadia restored to France.
1670. Hudson's Bay Company incorporated in England.
1671. Fort Cataraqui (Kingston) founded. Country about Lake Huron taken possession of by Perrot.
1673. The Mississippi discovered by Father Marquette, and M. Joliet.

1674. Lachine founded.
1676. First market opened in Quebec.
1679. Fort Niagara founded by La Salle.
1682. La Salle reached the mouth of the Mississippi.
1690. Acadia taken from the French, chiefly by New Englanders, who, however, were unsuccessful in an intended invasion of Canada.
1694. Iberville captured English forts in Hudson Bay.
1698. Death of Frontenac.
1701. Detroit founded by Lamothe Cadillac.
1704. Canadians granted permission to manufacture goods in the colony.
1707. England and Scotland united under the title of Great Britain.
1708. Cape Breton colonized.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht, confirming the British in possession of Acadia and Newfoundland.
1715. Ships first built at Quebec.
1719. First government founded by the British in Nova Scotia.
1720. Fort of Louisbourg built.
1721. First postal system established.
1724. British built forts at Oswego.
1731. Fort at Crown Point built.
1732-1750. Forts built on Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg and Assiniboia and Saskatchewan Rivers.
1739. First iron smelting works at St. Maurice. The territory as far as the Rocky Mountains explored by La Vérendrye.
1747. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Louisbourg restored to France. Halifax founded by the British. Forts built by the French at Toronto and Green Bay.
1752. *Halifax Gazette* published ; first newspaper in Canada.
1754. Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, built by the French.
1755. Braddock defeated and killed in his attempt to take Fort Duquesne. Ticonderoga built by the French ; Forts William Henry and Edward by the British.
1756. Montcalm arrives. Oswego taken by the French. Famine and smallpox in Canada.
1758. First meeting of legislature at Halifax. Louisbourg, Prince Edward Island, and Forts Duquesne and Frontenac taken by the British.

1759. Quebec taken by General Wolfe. Niagara taken by Johnston and Prideaux. Crown Point and Ticonderoga surrendered.
1760. Canada surrendered to British.
1762. First settlement in New Brunswick.
1763. Cape Breton annexed to Nova Scotia.
1764. First newspaper published at Quebec.
1770. First vessel built at St. John, N.B.
1774. Quebec Act, granting a new constitution.
1775. Revolt of the Anglo-American colonists. Montreal captured by them, but their general, Montgomery, repulsed and killed at Quebec.
1776. Declaration of American Independence.
1783. Treaty of Peace in favor of Americans. United Empire Loyalists then withdrew from United States and settled in the British provinces.
1784. Cape Breton separated politically from Nova Scotia.
1785. New Brunswick separated from Nova Scotia. St. John, N.B. established a city by Royal charter—the first city in Canada. First school opens in Ontario.
1791. Canadian Act passed by Imperial Parliament, dividing the province of Quebec into the two provinces of Lower and Upper Canada.
1792. First parliament opened in the respective new provinces.
1794. First roads in Upper Canada. York (Toronto) founded.
1796. The seat of government of Upper Canada removed from Niagara to Toronto.
1798. First public stage conveyances in Upper Canada.
1799. Education Act passed.
1800. Jesuits' estates taken possession of by Government.
1804. Locks made at Cateau Cascades.
1806. First ship built in Montreal. First French newspaper published in Quebec, *Le Canadien*.
1812. War with the United States.
1814. Treaty of Peace signed at Ghent.
1816. First steamboat on Lake Ontario. Common schools established in Upper Canada.
1817. First banks established in Montreal and Quebec.
1818. First steamer on Lake Erie.

1819. First steamer on the Ottawa River. Cape Breton annexed to Nova Scotia.

1821. Lachine Canal commenced. Hudson's Bay Co. and Northwest Co. amalgamated.

1822. Union of Upper and Lower Canada proposed, a bill introduced in the Imperial Parliament, which, however, dwindled down to the Trades Act, owing to opposition chiefly from Lower Canada.

1826. First steamers on Lakes St. Louis and St. Francis.

1827. Rideau Canal commenced. King's College founded in Toronto. McGill College, Montreal, receives its charter.

1831. Chambly Canal commenced.

1833. Quebec and Montreal incorporated cities.

1837. King William IV. dies, and Victoria ascends the throne.

1838. Suspension of the constitution of Lower Canada.

1840. Union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.

1841. First Parliament of the Province of Canada met at Kingston. First screw steamer on the lakes.

1842. The Ashburton Boundary Treaty with the United States, affecting New Brunswick and Maine, to the disadvantage of New Brunswick.

1843. Cornwall and Chambly Canals opened. Victoria, B.C., founded by Sir James Douglas.

1844. Dr. Ryerson appointed Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada.

1846. Oregon's Boundary Treaty favorable to the Americans, based upon discovery by two of its citizens, Lewis and Clark.

1847. First telegraph in Canada.

1848. Navigation laws repealed, which greatly helped the trade of Canada.

1849. Rebellion Losses Bill sanctioned by Lord Elgin. Burning of Parliament buildings by mob.

1850. Parliament met in Toronto. Both gold and coal discovered in British Columbia.

1852. Parliament met in Quebec.

1854. First railway in Upper Canada. First screw steamer from Liverpool to the St. Lawrence River. The Clergy Reserve and Seignorial Tenure questions settled.

1857. Decimal currency system adopted. Ottawa named the capital by Her Majesty. Great Western Railway completed.
1859. New Westminster, B.C., founded by Colonel Moody.
1860. Prince of Wales, now King Edward VII., visited Canada.
1861. Civil War in United States.
1865, 1866. Confederation agreed upon by the four provinces.
1866. Termination of Reciprocity Treaty with United States. First Fenian invasion at Ridgeway, Ont.
1867. Dominion inaugurated July 1st.
1869. Intercolonial Railway commenced.
1870. Manitoba and North-West organized.
1871. British Columbia enters the Union. C.P.R. surveys commenced.
1873. Prince Edward Island enters Union. Mackenzie administration formed. Sir George Cartier died.
1875. North-West Territory separated from Manitoba, to be governed by a council.
1876. Intercolonial Railway opened for traffic, Quebec to Halifax. Supreme Court established at Ottawa.
1878. Mackenzie Government defeated at the polls.
1879. Protective Tariff or "National Policy" adopted.
1885. Outbreak in the North-West fomented by Louis Riel. Last spike driven in the C.P.R.
1887. First C.P.R. steamer arrives at Vancouver from Yokohama. Interprovincial conference held at Quebec.
1891. Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald died June 6th. Sir John Abbott, premier.
1892. Hon. A. Mackenzie died April 7th. Sir A. Campbell died April 24th. Sir John Abbott resigned owing to ill health. Sir John Thompson, premier.
1893. Sir John Abbott died.
1894. Sir John Thompson died at Windsor Castle. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, premier.
1895. Proclamation granting the designation of Yukon, Franklin, Ungava and Mackenzie to these new remote districts. Sault Ste. Marie Canal opened.
1896. Sir Mackenzie Bowell resigns the premiership in favor of Sir Chas. Tupper. Defeat of the government. Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, premier.

1897. Yukon Territory organized with Dawson as capital.
1898. Two cent postage adopted.
1900. Death of Premier Marchand, of Quebec; Parent, premier. Governor McInnis, of British Columbia, dismissed. Laurier government sustained at the polls. Hon. R. P. Roblin, premier of Manitoba.
1901. Queen Victoria died, and was succeeded by her son as Edward VII. Telegraph system extended to Yukon.
1902. Lord Dufferin died. Ross Government sustained by a small majority at the polls.
1903. Sir Oliver Mowat, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, died.
1904. Laurier Government sustained again at the polls.
1905. Ross Government suffers a crushing defeat at the polls. Mr. Whitney, premier, formed a government that met the House on 22nd of March. Parent, premier of Quebec, resigned, owing to ill health; Gouin, premier. The North-West Territories sub-divided into two provinces, named Saskatchewan and Alberta, with Regina as the capital of the former and Edmonton of the latter.

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